

# Hikmatyar ready for talks with Najib to hold polls

خواہی نشوی رسوا  
ہمرنگ جماعت باش

Not to be considered queer conform  
to the crowd.

LAHORE — Engineer Gulbadin Hikmatyar, Chief of Hizbe Islami, Afghanistan, Monday said that his party would support the idea of an interim government in Afghanistan formed in consultation with Afghan Mujahideen minus Najib and his PDDA.

Addressing a Press conference here, he said that this interim government should be given mandate to hold general elections within six months. His party, he added, was ready to enter into negotiations with all relevant quarters excluding Najib and Zahir Shah in this connection.

He said there was every possibility of another coup by the Afghan army in the near future. Hizbe Islami was also prepared to accept a joint council of Mujahideen commanders around Kabul and the army officers opposed to the PDDA, for holding elections and transferring power to the elected representatives. After their first revolt against Najib government, the army officers were convinced that the Mujahideen would not victimise them after the fall of the Najib Government.

Mr. Hikmatyar said that the Afghan Mujahideen would not accept any election under UN supervision with the Najib Government in power. Similarly, he added, making Zahir Shah head of the government for an interim period would neither be acceptable to the Afghan people nor was it practicable. However, he observed, the USA and the Soviets had dropped this scheme after 'the army coup in Afghanistan'.

He said that since the ouster of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the Mujahideen were being maligned by both the super powers for infighting among different groups and involvement in drug trafficking. In fact, he added, they did not want an Islamic Government in Afghanistan. If the Afghan people could oust Russian forces from their homeland, Najib Government would not also stay long.

To a question, he said that Mujahideen would not allow firing rockets on civilians. They only favoured surrounding cities and cutting arms supplies to them. This was the only way to bring the victory nearer.

He rebutted the propaganda of infighting among Mujahideen adding that it was a west-inspired propaganda after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

Gulbadin Hikmatyar said that the Afghan Interim Government was formed for a limited period and Hizbe Islami dissociated itself from it after the expiry of that period. His party did not feel the need of having an interim government based in Peshawar. It

was agreed between the parties, which were the part of this government, that after six months, next elections would be held on the Afghan soil.

He added that it was his party which had proposed elections on Afghan soil to end differences, if any, between the parties.

He said that Afghan Mujahideen were grateful to the people and Government of Pakistan for their support, which would live in their memory for all times to come. However, he said, there might be some difference with the Pakistan Government on certain points, but it was a natural phenomenon, 'we will remain grateful for every single word uttered in support of Afghan people', he said.

Mr. Hikmatyar announced full support for Kashmiri freedom fighters, and vowed to fight side-by-side the Pakistan armed forces if India ever attacked Pakistan. He added that the Afghans considered Pakistan their second home.

He said that the Kashmiri people had chosen a right path to achieve their right of self-determination. If the Berlin Wall could fall, an artificial boundary line between the people of Kashmir would soon vanish. — APP.

PT 5/15

## Letter to THE MUSLIM

HEKMATYAR, THE JEWEL of Afghan Jihad, stands prominent among the long line of selfless fighters who successfully thwarted the onward march of communism in this part of the world. He inflicted telling wounds on the soul-less psyche of Najib who abhors the association of Allah with his first name. Can you imagine a worse and more detestable man in the world of Islam who damaged the cause of the Ummah so severely by playing into the hands of the Russians? No doubt, he excels all others, including Salman Rushdie!

Many of our mercenary journalists and well-wishers of the Indo-USSR interests in Pakistan went all the way to Kabul in order to ascertain facts. On their return, they wrote dissertations on the invulnerability of the Afghan regime. They brought out convincing notes in the English press by showing that nothing had happened since Soviet withdrawal and nothing was likely to happen in the foreseeable future and that the coterie of the communist quizzings was fairly and squarely placed at the helm of affairs in Kabul.

Hekmatyar's latest dent into these impregnable positions speaks volumes for his sagacity and war strategy. His slow but steady play-up of common communal differences broke many spokes and felled from the communist wheel, bowled Najibullah in the face and made him run barefoot on to the Russian ramparts before the threatening fires of the Muslim resurgence burst upon his head. Today, he feels much smaller before the world as his image has been shattered. He is licking his festering wounds since and all his tall claims have fallen apart.

His recent outbursts against Hekmatyar and the rebel commander General Tanai are stepped in venom. In fact, he is scrambling to shore up his drowning position, badly bruised by Shahnawaz-Gulbuddin coup-plot which loosened the very foundations of his flimsy ground so strongly and costly propped up by Russian arms and advisers. The Mujahideen have inflicted heavy casualties on the regime forces and secured many strategic points in the recent past. Many garrisons have fallen to them and soldiers have continuously defected with large stacks of arms and ammunition. They are strengthening the Islamic Jihad with every passing day and the process of disintegration is so visible that the final crash seems to be imminent.

He is under renewed pressure to step down in order to pave the way for a national reconciliation sooner or later. He must go packing to Moscow not to show his hideous face anymore on the Afghan soil. Besides killing thousands of his own countrymen like the Jaafars and the Sadiqs of yore, he has brought a bad name to the history of the Muslim world. Moscow must end its unqualified support if she has any value for human blood or for freedom of choice. Being a next door neighbour, she must reap the seeds of hatred that she has sown in Afghanistan. The historic message that must go with the recent coup attempt to USSR is that the dark age of communism in Afghanistan is slowly but steadily drawing to a close for ever, and that the people of Afghanistan are vigorously returning to their original faith with ever-increasing strength and fervour. All credit, must go to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.—RAO K. ALI, Lalamusa.

4/5/90



Tanai

Gulbuddin

Anis Hoot 25, 1368 (MARCH 25, 1990)

# Afghan Rebels Divided, May Drop Holy War

By MARK FINEMAN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—Afghanistan's Islamic resistance, hailed as a brave anti-Communist crusade in the 10 years that brought billions of dollars in U.S. military aid, has all but given up its holy war against the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul.

Fourteen months after the last Soviet soldier withdrew from Afghanistan, the rebels, known as the *mujahideen*, are hopelessly divided. And, according to Afghan, Pakistani and Western experts, they have in recent weeks killed more of their own than the enemy, the armed forces of Afghan President Najibullah.

Rival resistance commanders have been gunned down gangland-style here in the border town of Peshawar, the staging area for the war. There are persistent reports of large-scale political killings in the refugee camps on the Pakistani side of the border, and many of the 4 million or more Afghans still in the camps say they live in fear of the ragtag force that once fought bravely to protect them.

Many disillusioned rebel commanders who helped to drive the Soviet army out of Afghanistan are turning their attention from the battlefield to the poppy field, fueling the multibillion-dollar global heroin trade.

The poppy fields and the laboratories of Pakistan already supply more than one-third of the heroin sold on American streets, and narcotics agents fear that this activity is on the brink of exploding.

A recent execution in Peshawar—the machine-gun slaying of rebel commander Mullah Nasim Akhundzada—had as much to do with drugs as politics. Mullah Nasim, nicknamed by narcotics agents the “heroin king of Helmand province,” controlled vast poppy fields that became the arena for a drug war late last year in southern Afghanistan.

Other commanders, in Afghanistan and in the border camps, are simply refusing to fight. They say privately that they prefer Najibullah to the hard-line *mujahideen* fundamentalists led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

Hekmatyar is one of seven leaders in the rebel alliance that has all but disintegrated since Hekmatyar allied himself last month with former Afghan Defense Minister Shahinawaz Tanai, who fled Kabul after mounting an abortive coup.

When the attempted coup began, many of the refugees in the camps, and many rebels—men who had risked their lives to destroy Najibullah—crowded into the mosques and prayed for his survival.

“Now, people are saying that if it is not possible to welcome the devils, men like Tanai who have killed so many Afghans, then what have we been fighting for all these many years?” Naim Majrooh, an Afghan intellectual who runs a *mujahideen* information center here, said to a recent visitor.

These developments have led U.S. analysts to rethink their support for the *mujahideen*. A diplomat said: “No one wants to be the last Afghan to die for nothing, and America shouldn’t be the last country to finance the rebellion. This year is probably the time to cut and run.”

Whether to continue the clandestine CIA program that has funneled more than \$2 billion in weapons to the rebels over the last six years is a question that is likely to be high on the agenda next month when President Bush meets with Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. The Soviets are still sending arms to the Najibullah regime.

Diplomats and other authorities on Afghan affairs say that Washington is likely to be more receptive than ever to a proposal that both sides stop providing arms to the Afghans.

“Either way, the whole U.S. assistance package is finished at the end of the year,” a diplomat in Islamabad said.

Here in Peshawar, the Afghans explain why.

“It’s finished; there is no more *jihad* [holy war],” said Abdullah Ali, an Afghan technocrat who fled to Pakistan a decade ago. “With whom do we make *jihad*? It is only Afghan fighting Afghan, so no one is willing to lay down his life anymore.”

The intellectual Majrooh, whose father was assassinated two years ago after publicly condemning fundamentalist leader Hekmatyar, said, “The motivation for fighting is lost.”

He said that Hekmatyar’s people, and other fundamentalist factions, are “wearing the mask of Islam on their faces, and yet they are selling the food for widows and orphans for profit.”

“They are assassinating and terrorizing people in Pakistan,” he added. “These people are more guilty than those in Kabul. It is a very depressing time.”

Diplomatic observers in Pakistan, who have been studying the war for years, seem equally depressed.

“A year ago,” a European diplomat said, “the situation was a mess. It’s still a mess—but now, frankly, it’s a shambles.”

Another Western diplomat said, “Everybody’s sick and tired of

Afghanistan now. They’re sick of this phase of the war. Either you’re going to fight to the last Afghan, or you’re going to fix it.

“There’s a total fracture of the rebel organization, horizontally and vertically, and there’s no way you can turn that around. The whole thing is just so sick the situation is becoming surreal. It is scandalous.”

Among the most scandalous aspects of the present phase of the war, according to diplomats other than the Americans, as well as many prominent Afghans, is the U.S. aid effort to prop up the controversial rebel government in exile that was formed last year in Islamabad.

By virtually all accounts, millions of dollars in U.S. aid have been squandered on a government that even a U.S. official conceded “was never supposed to be anything more than a hollow shell.”

The official, who asked not to be identified by name, said: “All you had in Peshawar was a bunch of Humpty Dumpty without any form or substance. The thought

was that the Afghan interim government would not have to be a government *per se*. All you needed was a bunch of figureheads who could go into Kabul and take over when the regime there fell. The problem was the miscalculation that the Kabul regime would fall within months of the Soviet withdrawal—and of course it never fell.”

Still, the exile government, made up mostly of senior members of the seven-party rebel alliance, continued to receive money from the United States and Saudi Arabia, their other major foreign backer. With virtually no accountability, they used the money to set up offices, buy vehicles, bring in imported equipment and take on massive staffs.

Officially, the U.S. Agency for International Development, which has run a largely successful five-

year program to send humanitarian aid from Pakistan to rebels fighting across the border, put about \$450,000 into the exile government. But several reliable sources said that millions more was spent unofficially.

“The real story here isn’t the \$450,000,” an aid official said, asking not to be identified by name. “The real story is how many people this government has put on its payroll since Feb. 15—it’s well into the hundreds—and how many have actually shown up for work—few to none. What has happened is that this government has turned itself into a hiring hall.”

Afghan intellectuals like Naim Majrooh and Abdullah Ali say the continuing flow of aid, combined with the rebels’ plummeting morale, has generated a cult of corruption that is further eroding the rebels’ will to fight.

“The political system that is functioning here in Pakistan is a farce,” said Ali, who is an adviser to an exile government agency that has received some of the aid money. “They’re going to kill the Afghans with such a system. And the longer this system continues, the stronger Najib will become.”

Majrooh said, “We have compromised our ideals with outsiders, and now we Afghans—all Afghans—are losing” the war. *Jihad*, you see, is a purely Islamic struggle for the liberation of the home, land, and for years it was. But now there are no Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and it is clear that those who have been talking about holy war just want to take the power and the money for themselves.

“*Jihad* is also sacrifice, life-and-death sacrifice, and the question we are all asking now is, sacrifice for whom?”

LOS ANGELES TIMES

APRIL 30, 1990



# In Power Still, Afghan Can Thank His 4-Star Aide

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 7 — As Afghanistan's rulers have been assassinated or driven into exile, Mohammed Aslam Watanjar has been one of the country's pre-eminent survivors.

As a tank major, the general sealed the success of the 1978 revolution with an attack on the Defense Ministry of the previous ruler, Mohammad Daud. Now, as Defense Minister, he is guardian of what remains of the revolutionaries' power.

Two months ago, only General Watanjar stood between President Najibullah and the ignominy that befell his predecessors as President. On March 8, as Mr. Najibullah sat at a conference table in the Gul Khana Palace with civilian members of the ruling Politburo, an 1,100-pound bomb was dropped on the palace by a MIG-21 fighter-bomber.

## One More Coup Attempt

It was the opening blow in another coup attempt, this time by Lieut. Gen. Shahmawaz Tanai, who was then Defense Minister and had made a bizarre compact with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one of the fundamentalist Muslim leaders who have been fighting a guerrilla war, to topple the Kabul Government. As the bomb exploded less than 100 feet away, the ceiling of the conference room collapsed, along with a chandelier, and its windows shattered. But somehow the ruling elite remained alive.

At that moment, their continued survival depended heavily on General Watanjar. For one thing, his job as Interior Minister gave him control of the sarandoi, a paramilitary police force with tanks and other heavy weapons. For another, General Watanjar had long been considered a stalwart of the Khalqi, hardliners in the ruling People's Democratic Party who have been increasingly restive under Mr. Najibullah.

On the face of it, General Watanjar seemed more likely to join General Tanai, another leading Khalqi, than to stand by Mr. Najibullah. But when the badly shaken leaders, led by Mr. Najibullah, reached an underground command post they found General Watanjar there, along with the secret police chief, Farouk Yaqubi, a Politburo member said.

## A Fourth General's Star

Having failed to reach General Tanai by telephone, General Watanjar had ordered a sarandoi battalion, backed by secret police troops, to intercept the army's 15th tank brigade, dispatched by General Tanai to attack the palace from its base near the infamous Pul-i-Charki prison, 10 miles to the east.

General Watanjar's reward was a fourth general's star, and a radio speech by Mr. Najibullah within two hours naming him the new Defense Minister. General Watanjar followed with a radio address of his own, ordering the army to seize General Tanai "dead or alive." Now General Watanjar is installed in the Darulaman Palace, a floor below General Tanai's office, which was destroyed by tank fire in the coup attempt.

Although aides had prepared standard answers for an interview, the general, who is 44 years old, needed no prompting on the issue that

After an attempted coup against President Najibullah in March, a young soldier stood guard in the damaged Afghan Defense Ministry.



all visitors have pressed since his promotion — whether he has any inclination to challenge Mr. Najibullah.

"I would not even think of joining such diabolical plots," he said, his voice betraying an edge of anger. "I joined the revolution to deliver my people from poverty and misery, not to throw in my lot with a handful of traitors. Tanai was an ambitious and selfish man, without any conscience, and his fate is that of traitors everywhere, the bitterness of exile and disgrace."

Since General Tanai's 24-hour coup attempt ended with his fleeing by helicopter to Pakistan, diplomats have made a fresh assessment of General Watanjar.

Although a Khalqi, the diplomats say, he is a professional military man who has survived — as armed forces Chief of Staff, Interior Minister twice, Communications Minister and as Defense Minister once before — because he has shunned involvement in the ethnic, personal and ideological feuds that have torn the ruling party.

General Watanjar put it more simply. Distinctions between Khalqis and Parchamis, their traditional party rivals, are, he said, "invalid and irrelevant," apparently because revolutionaries with their backs to the wall cannot afford feuds, and because Mr. Najibullah has thrown ideology overboard anyway in his pleas to the guerrillas for peace.

## Gains by the Armed Forced

On other issues, much of General Watanjar's script, sounded like arti-

cles from the Kabul Times, a starchy Government newspaper. "The armed forces of the republic of Afghanistan have been inflicting telling blows on the warmongers at Khost and in other parts of the country," he said, referring to the Muslim rebels.

Despite such stiff formulas, diplo-



Associated Press

The man most responsible for foiling the coup was Gen. Mohammed Aslam Watanjar. His efforts earned him a fourth star and control of the Defense Ministry.

Don't miss Najib's account of the coup on pages 32-35



matas say the Kabul forces have, in fact, performed better since the coup attempt, making gains outside Jalalabad, the strategic city east of Kabul, and holding off a major rebel offensive at Khost, General Tanai's hometown. And the diplomats say that General Watanjar may be a more effective commander than General Tanai, a 36-year-old paratroop officer.

Educated at a military academy in Kabul, then trained by Soviet tank specialists, General Watanjar gave his hobby as "reading history," not something usually thought of as a preoccupation of the Kabul elite.

Along with his other concerns, General Watanjar has had the distraction lately of working to the thump of hammers and the grinding of drills. The Darulaman Palace, built in 1923 to house the country's first Parliament, has been a ruined shell since the coup attempt, its roofs and walls punctured by shellfire, its corridors dank with rainwater. Artisans climb atop wooden scaffolds, repairing friezes and architraves.

In what served as General Tanai's office, still decorated with an oil painting of a Soviet infantryman making a night attack through heavy snow, an old man was applying gold leaf to freshly plastered moldings in preparation for General Watanjar's moving in, perhaps silently wishing that the office's new occupant will not put his craftsman's skills at hazard by making a new grab for Mr. Najibullah's power.

NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 10, 1990

# LEADERS IN KABUL SEEK A NEW IMAGE

By JOHN F. BURNS  
Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 4 — A year ago, Farid Mazdak greeted visitors to his office here in an olive-green military-style uniform, as though to signal that he was at one with the soldiers upholding the Government at besieged cities like Jalalabad, Kabul and Kandahar.

These days, Mr. Mazdak turns out for interviews in a natty striped shirt, tailored black trousers and loafers. And his talk is mostly of politics, not war.

As the youngest member of President Najibullah's Politburo — he is 32 years old — and as a man who appears to be less tainted by the Kabul Government's unwholesome record than some others, Mr. Mazdak has been assigned broad responsibility in preparing the ruling People's Democratic Party for the possibility that it will settle its struggle with the United States-backed Muslim guerrillas in elections.

Until now, the prospect of having to seek votes has not been a pressing matter for a party that seized power in a military coup in 1978, then quickly became synonymous with repression. But since the Bush Administration disclosed this week that it has been narrowing some of the differences in negotiations with the Moscow over Afghanistan, which could lead to internationally supervised elections, new urgency has been lent to efforts to give the ruling party a new image.

## A More 'Democratic' Party

Under prompting from the Kremlin, which has kept the Kabul leaders abreast of the Soviet-American talks, Mr. Najibullah's entourage has been working on measures intended to give the People's Democratic Party a new allure. Mr. Mazdak, previously head of the party's youth league, has been shifted into the party's headquarters with a brief that includes changes to make the party more "democratic."

The changes will be adopted this summer, at the first congress that the party has called since 30 Marxists founded it as a clandestine organization in a Kabul basement 25 years ago.

Mr. Mazdak said proposals being circulated among the party's 200,000 members would remove a reference in the party's charter to its "vanguard" role, acknowledge that it must compete for power with other parties, and force party chiefs at all levels to seek mandates in secret ballots, perhaps the most far-reaching innovation of all in an organization whose leadership has consisted of a self-perpetuating cabal.

What this amounts to is the abandonment of all outward vestiges of Marxism. Since Soviet troops left 15 months ago, Mr. Najibullah has been saying the party was never Marxist, but Mr. Mazdak is more candid, saying it was hijacked early by a radical faction.

"It was a time when Marxism-Leninism was quite a fashion in underdeveloped countries like Afghanistan," he said. As for the party's internal practices, he referred to the abortive coup two months ago by the former Defense Minister, Lieut. Gen. Shahinawaz Tanai. "Ours has been a democracy of bombs and tanks," he said.

## 'Reconciliation' Sought

Led by Mr. Najibullah, whose own record is not so much for ideological fervor as for his unsentimental attitude toward opponents during his years as secret police chief, party leaders have been outdoing each other lately in renouncing virtually everything the party stood for until it accepted the hopelessness of the war and proclaimed its policy of "national reconciliation" in 1987.

The change meant repudiation of policies once ruthlessly enforced: redistribution of land, attempts to diminish the power of the country's Muslim clerics, confiscation of property from enemies and summary executions, among others.

In recent weeks, Mr. Najibullah has issued decrees ordering the restitution of all seized properties, albeit under complex rules that could make some owners wait years, and abolishing a law limiting dowry payments for brides to 300 afghanis, less than \$6 at the official rate of exchange. Mr. Mazdak cited the dowry rule as an instance of what he said had been well-intentioned but foolhardy efforts to reform a society bound by tradition. "You can't change social psychology by issuing decrees overnight," he said.

The Government's opponents reject efforts to remodel the party as hopeless, saying they have come only under pressure from the mujahideen, as the rebels call themselves, and because they are being sponsored by Mr. Najibullah, who is closely associated with the wrongdoing of the old regime.

## Lawyer Complains Bitterly

One of the few constitutional lawyers in Kabul complained bitterly about the changes, saying a parallel plan to summon a traditional loya jirga, or grand assembly, this month to remove "un-democratic" and "socialist" elements from the 1987 Constitution had been put together by party officials without consulting the best experts. "It's a farce," he said. "These party people are Communists, and nothing they do will persuade people otherwise."

Some officials, including Mr. Najibullah, say the party's ability to draw on a "national" membership — 65 percent of its members are in the armed forces — and its commitment to modernizing the country will give it an election advantage over the guerrilla parties.

"It's not going to be easy to overcome our past," Mr. Mazdak said. "But whether our mistakes have been more or less grievous than those of the so-called mujahideen, who can say? Who has clean hands? Not us, certainly, but not our opponents either, not the Soviet Union, and not, I'm sorry to say it, the United States."

NEW YORK TIMES

5/5

# Details of US aid to Mujahideen

KARACHI — A total of 22,000 metric tons of wheat to an estimated 1.6 million Afghans in Afghanistan has been provided since 1986 by the United States, through its cross-border humanitarian assistance programme.

Most of the wheat is distributed inside Afghanistan by Mujahideen commanders under the auspices of shuras (Local councils) the project was initiated in 1986 to supply humanitarian aid, through commodities and services, from Pakistan directly into Afghanistan with the help of Pakistan.

Funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to the tune of 72 million dollars, it was done through the commodity export programme which is not only involved in procuring and transporting commodities into Afghanistan but also for doing some road repairs and construction in the war-damaged country.

Also under the programme, Afghanistan has received 390 tons of tea, 1500 tons of sugar, 1275 tons of beans, 22,000 blankets and 33,000 sets of clothing.

The transportation of these commodities to Pakistan for delivery inside Afghanistan is done mainly by US air force planes in the last three years, US military transport planes have made 93 flights to Islamabad, carrying more than 2600 tons of aid material, including excess non-lethal US department of defence material and goods donated by American private organisations.

The planes have also ferried 1,140 miles from the United States to Pakistan, where they are used

to transport supplies into Afghanistan. Mujahideen have been critical to the delivery of relief supplies because most of the major roads have been badly damaged during the war.

On a recent flight, a US C-5 military transport plane took nearly 10,000 fruit trees, mostly apple trees, from Turkey to Pakistan for planting inside Afghanistan as many forests and orchards either were destroyed in the war or are threatened with destruction.

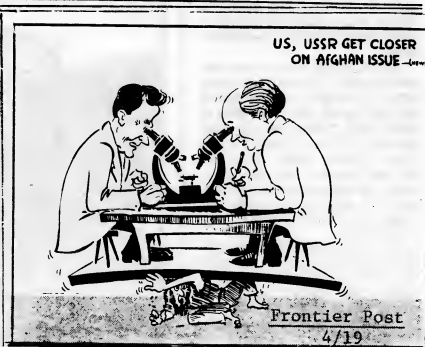
USAID, in cooperation with Pakistan government, in 1988 established the Afghan Construction and Logistics Unit (ACLU) to transport humanitarian goods from Pakistan into Afghanistan and to improve or construct roads and bridges. Previously, all aid commodities were transported into Afghanistan by the resistances.

A major reason for the rapid establishment of the project was an urgent need that year for food in Afghanistan, especially around Kabul. A lot of food was delivered before the end of the year 1988.

The ACLU has delivered more than 9,000 tons of USAID-brought commodities. It was accomplished in 156 convoys of 20 to 50 trucks. The project has 200 Afghan drivers, stationed in a maintenance facility on the outskirts of Peshawar. Another 300 Afghans are working in the construction component of the project.

The ACLU has three crews in Afghanistan doing construction work and one crew that is working on bridges. — May 27, 1990

PT



# Beleaguered Kabul Looks Toward Summit for Help in Ending War

By MARK FINEMAN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

**K**ABUL, Afghanistan—Flanked by dozens of submachine gunners in business suits in a decaying movie theater surrounded by tanks and soldiers, Afghan President Najibullah took the stage this week to convince the world that his harsh, Soviet-backed regime has seen the light of democracy.

"We are not Communists any more," the president declared of his traditionally Marxist ruling party, which allowed 115,000 Soviet occupation troops to spend a decade destroying the country in a continuing war that has left a million Afghans dead and 5 million others refugees. "Now, we want only peace."

Citing his regime's new-found commitment to political pluralism, capitalism and free elections, Najibullah appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to reach an agreement at this week's Washington summit that will help end a war now threatening to transform Afghanistan into another Lebanon.

At his speech Monday to his handpicked *loya jirga*, or grand assembly of elders, Najibullah tried hard to cast his regime as a group of reformers committed to following the path of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

**J**ust one problem—hardly anyone is listening. Despite the hopes of millions of Afghans throughout the world that Presidents Bush and Mikhail S. Gorbachev will somehow solve this nation's complex crisis in the next few days, the Afghan issue is expected to be little more than a footnote to the summit talks.

At best, Soviet and U.S. analysts said this week, the two leaders may agree in principle on a timetable to end both Soviet arms shipments to Najibullah's regime and the vast, five-year CIA arms pipeline to the Islamic Afghan rebels known as the *mujahedeen*. But even then, senior diplomats on both sides said, such an agreement, known as "negative symmetry," is likely to remain secret.

In any case, diplomats from both Washington and Moscow say that the heavily armed factions on both sides of the Afghan conflict are now so torn apart from within that the superpower potential for ending the bloody conflict has been greatly reduced.

"When the Americans say it is impossible to influence the *mujahedeen*, to some extent it is true. And the same is true for us," said a Soviet diplomat. "When we had 115,000 troops here, we had some way to persuade them. But now, the situation is more complex, all we have is an embassy in Kabul, and our influence is limited."

"Now, it's up to the Afghans themselves to listen to each other." But few have been listening.

From their base in the Pakistani border city of Peshawar, the leaders of the seven major *mujahedeen* parties have been issuing dozens of contradictory pronouncements that have all but ended U.S. hopes of bringing unity to their ranks.

Many rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have simply stopped fighting, while four of the most powerful of them met earlier this month to formulate a plan to break with the U.S.-backed parties in Peshawar.

"No one is fighting a holy war inside Afghanistan any more," said one resistance leader who asked not to be identified by name. "They're only fighting over the opium fields and the heroin."

Despite the rebel disunity in Peshawar and Najibullah's show of democracy this week in Kabul, it was clear from dozens of interviews in the besieged capital that the regime is not much better off than its armed opponents.

The strongman president did survive a bloody coup attempt two months ago by his former defense minister, Shahnawaz Tanai, but the armed forces and the ruling

People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan remain deeply divided from within.

Just last Sunday, thousands of troops in full combat gear suddenly appeared throughout the capital, and several reliable sources said that Najibullah loyalists barely averted another military rebellion by rounding up dozens of coup plotters that day.

**W**hile plots continue in army ranks, of which 65% are members of the ruling party, there is also growing resentment in the party's powerful Politburo. Party hard-liners are angered by Najibullah's crusade to recast as born-again capitalists and pluralists the same party that overthrew Afghanistan's monarchy in 1978 for Soviet-backed socialism.

The new government that the party officially formed last week was a classic illustration of the conflicting forces now at work within the regime. When Najibullah unveiled the new 36-member Cabinet, a spokesman proudly declared that less than half of its ministers are ruling party members—"to democratize the social and political life of the Afghan people," he said.

But most independent analysts in Kabul said the Cabinet was made deliberately weak. To assume his post, the new premier, a non-party former governor named Fazlul Haq Khaleeqyar, had to be carried out of a hospital, where he is recovering from gunshot wounds received in an assassination attempt last month.

"Maybe there really is the desire for a move to change things, but so far you just don't see it," one European diplomat said. "... They [the regime] don't have access to any new people to introduce real changes."

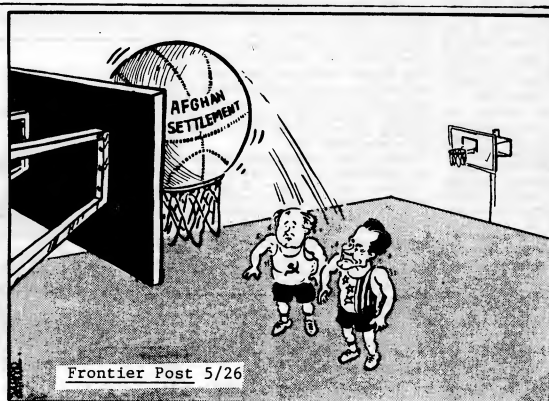
Similarly, the debate on the new government last weekend in the halls of what was once considered a "lame" party-appointed parliament also reflected what many diplomats consider "largely cosmetic changes."

For three days, a total of 102 delegates sharply criticized every one from reappointed Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil, a Politburo member who many diplomats expected would be removed from the Cabinet, to the party official who recently staged an official beauty contest in Kabul amid rebel rocket barrages.

**B**ut actually, the party had instructed parliamentary delegates to be especially vocal during the debate, to provide a show of democracy, and the Parliament's deputy chairman, Zahirullah Zahoori, who belongs to a rival leftist party, conceded that no one criticized Najibullah because "under the rules, we have no right to criticize the president."

Indeed, the only genuine sign of democratic change in Kabul these days may be found in a grimy little office on the second floor of the abandoned Afghan Tours Hotel, where a political dissident, Prof. Mohammad Asghar, explained his newly formed National Reconciliation Society.

"We are against both the regime and the *mujahedeen*," Asghar, 74, said. "The so-called *mujahedeen* are fighting each other and not united, and what we are seeing here in Kabul today is not real democratic change."



LAT 5/31



# The real American role in Afghanistan

By ALI MOHAMMAD

In a lengthy article, Arabic daily *Al-Itihad*, May 24, reviewed in detail the Afghan issue with particular emphasis on the American role in dividing, demoralising and cultivating the Afghan Mujahideen. The paper also explained the Arab role and how the US planned to neutralise and subsequently end this Arab role. Here are the main features of this article.

"The isolation of the Afghan resistance is a strategic goal of the US policy. It is just like a military operation to crush an adversary army by means of siege, division and liquidation. Surprisingly, the USSR failed over a period of ten years to bring about an operation of this type!!"

Giving a resume of the Afghan issue, the paper said that the US succeeded to establish contacts with various resistance groups inside and outside Afghanistan due to the lack of Islamic support of the Afghan Mujahideen. "But simultaneously, the US was keen to ensure that the field commanders inside Afghanistan should not achieve a decisive victory in order to suppress any possibility of an emergence of a strong Afghan leadership independent of the centres of American pressures," the paper maintained. It outlined the following 8 American tactics to weaken the resistance forces and to put them under its influence.

i. Separation of Ulema (religious scholars) for Jihad (Holy War) operations. In this regard tens of Ulema were called back to Peshawar to be appointed in administrative jobs while the majority of them were military leaders in a country known by its high esteem for the Ulema. This step was taken to avert the danger of integrating Ulema with field commanders, a step which may lead to the emergence of an independent leadership that might not serve American interests.

ii. Division of Ulema into various organisations and political parties.

iii. Confining field commanders to their own tribal areas to ensure their localisation and ultimately foil any attempt of expansion by all available means.

iv. Opening branches for all organisations in all other regions so that no region would follow a united organisation because in such an eventuality, a united organisation could extend its influence over the adjacent regions.

v. Reduction of military assistance to the strong organisations so that they should not become stronger, even if this step causes their defeat in their fight with the communist forces.

vi. If, despite all these measures, the field commander remains strong, a side-fight would be arranged with other field commanders in the area to weaken this strong field commander.

vii. Spreading all kinds of rumours in order to defame and destroy the good reputation of the strong military leaders inside Afghanistan.

viii. If all these measures fail, physical liquidation would be used. Many field commanders were assassinated inside and outside Afghanistan."

Commenting on Mr. Peter Tomson's role, the paper said that he ignored the AIG by establishing direct contacts with the field commanders and that he was responsible for the failure of the Jalalabad battle. Furthermore, Mr. Tomson tried to tarnish the image of the Mujahideen by accusing them of involvement in smuggling of heroin and projecting Hekmatyar as "fundamentalist."

Speaking on the Arab role in Afghanistan, the paper said, "Getting rid of the Arab role in Afghanistan is an integral part of the American strategy in order to delink and isolate the Afghan Mujahideen from their natural allies and ultimately to impose the American solution on the Afghan people."

"In the beginning a few Muslims and Arabs joined the Mujahideen, but the percentage of the Arabs increased with every year. In 1984 Dr. Abdullah Azzam established the Service Office in Peshawar to channelise Arab voluntary aid to the Afghan resistance. This office played an important role in providing direct services to the Afghan Mujahideen through representatives who were spread from Badakhshan in the east to Herat in the west and from southern Afghanistan to the northern parts adjacent to the USSR. Their mission was to identify Mujahideen needs and submit recommendations for Peshawar office to make them available."

"The main idea of this Services Office was to establish an Islamic supply line to the Mujahideen in order to protect them from succumbing to foreign influence which may lead to yielding to the

American pressure."

"Many of the representatives of this office were martyred while joining the supply caravans inside Afghanistan."

"Dr. Abdullah Azzam was able to secure huge financial support for the Afghan Mujahideen from Arab countries, particularly from oil-rich Gulf states and could mobilise further aid through his subtle but effective information office. He also succeeded in establishing direct contacts with Islamic centres in the US and Europe through which he obtained financial, moral and political support for the Afghan Mujahideen."

"Gradually Service Office became the centre of Arab activities in Afghanistan... About 6000-7000 Arab youths used to spend 2-months in Afghanistan whereas permanent Arab fighters were about 1000."

"With the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan Services Office became a victim of the American media campaign which was also helped partly by Gorbachev's peaceful offensive."

"This campaign has succeeded in convincing the world public opinion and people in the Muslim countries that the Afghan issue had come to an end and that whatever was happening in Afghanistan was merely a civil war."

"Dr. Abdullah Azzam tried hard to resist this campaign and accused the US and the West of restricting the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan and waging a hatred campaign against Islam."

"In a press conference held at Kuwait, Dr. Abdullah Azzam said the West does not favour the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan. When the US realised that the Mujahideen would ultimately gain victory, it became mad and desperately tried to cultivate the Afghan leaders. But the US failed in its endeavour because everyone insisted on the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan. When the Americans realised that they could not deal with those leaders, they liquidated them physically."

"As matters stand, Dr. Abdullah Azzam was martyred a few days after this statement. The Arab youths who used to hear his Friday sermon had no doubt that the Americans were behind his martyrdom. Therefore they immediately organised processions and raised slogans against the US and its agents."

## JUST ONE SNAG Cont. from p. 9

Even if the Americans and the Russians can agree on election arrangements, a free and fair poll throughout Afghanistan is not possible at present. It would have to be restricted to the towns, which the Kabul government controls. The mujaheddin guerrillas, who control most of the countryside, have already made it clear that they would not go along with any plan that impeded their aim of eventually installing their own government in Kabul.

Mr Najibullah, who these days claims to be a good Muslim and an Afghan patriot rather than a communist, is in touch with the "interim government" of mujaheddin groups in the Pakistan border town of Peshawar. The two sides meet in secret, ostensibly to discuss exchanges of prisoners. But Mr Najibullah is almost certainly trying to arrange new local peace pacts with mujaheddin leaders. Such pacts suit some mujaheddin: they leave them free to fight rival guerrillas, whom they often dislike even more than they do Mr Najibullah.

If Mr Najibullah decides that, one way or another, he can control a good slice of the

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countryside as well as the towns, he may spurn the good offices of Mr Baker and Mr Shevardnadze. His artful methods are reminiscent of those of the British, who tried to control Afghanistan by playing one group off against another. In 1842 they had to flee Kabul in disorder after the British political agent there was killed by an Afghan chief he was negotiating with. Mr Najibullah may yet pay the penalty of being a bit too clever.

# Afghan Fear: Does World Still Care?

By JOHN F. BURNS  
Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 7 — When a two-man team from Coca-Cola's Asian operation arrived at the company's new plant near the Soviet Embassy here the other day, a crowd assembled. It continued to gather for days, even after word passed that it would be weeks, maybe months, before the plant could be re-commissioned.

What the eager faces outside the bottling plant seemed to signify was something deeper than thirst. In the 12th summer of their war, Afghans watch for any sign, however oblique, that their plight has not been forgotten.

For a decade, while Soviet troops were here to fight the Muslim guerrillas, there were few fears that Afghanistan would slide down the world's priority list. But since the Soviet withdrawal on Feb. 15, 1989, and the Kabul forces' subsequent success in holding off the rebels, Afghans have had a growing sense that concern for their war has receded in the distant capitals that are seen as having the power to end it.

The conflict issue has settled into a pattern of purposelessness. In the month, a long-distance rebel rocket supplied by the United States and Saudi Arabia slammed into a bus in Kabul, killing more than 20 people. Another landed at dusk near a mosque, killing at least 15.

## Nightly Missile Firings

The sky over Kabul is lighted each night with the exhaust plumes of the Government's Soviet-made missiles, whose one-ton explosive warheads rarely strike distant guerrilla targets. Reports in Kabul's bazaars speak of the weapons hitting villages, markets, even schools.

Each day, in soldiers' sandbagged redoubts and in lowly mud-walled homes, the hopeful rise before dawn to catch short-wave broadcasts in Persian and Pashto, the country's main languages, transmitted by the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation. Clusters of people listen intently to the scratchy broadcasts, eager for nuances suggesting that the diplomatic stalemate between Washington, the principal backer of the rebels, and Moscow, underwriting the Kabul Government, might be broken.

Last week, after Bush Administration officials announced that the superpowers had narrowed some of their differences over a possible peace formula, there was a new roller-coaster of disillusion. Hope came from the disclosure that the two powers have been discussing elections as a way to end the fighting. Disillusion followed when President Najibullah, the Kabul leader, demanded that he retain power during the voting, a condition rejected by the United States and by the guerrilla leaders.

A year ago, many Afghans believed that arms, not diplomacy, would end the war. But after 15 months of impasse in the fighting, most people seem to believe that all hope for peace rests with negotiations.

## An Old Man's Plea

"Please, good sir, when you come next time, bring us some good news, some sign that things might soon be at an end," an elderly porter implored an American visitor preparing to leave Kabul airport. His eyes moist, the old man stepped back in his threadbare

khaki uniform and offered a shaky salute.

At the height of the siege of Jalalabad last year, reporters took their lives in their hands to reach the strategic city from Kabul. Now, the same Soviet-built military helicopter, with the same pilot, Capt. Mohammed Humayun, flies below the road that threads between the two cities, with the 25-year-old captain grinning at the scene in the rocky gorges below.

Where rebel groups once succeeded in closing the road for weeks at a time, convoys now ply steadily eastward, carrying weapons and food to the garrison. Likewise, the 250-mile Salang highway that links Kabul to the Soviet border has remained open because rival guerrilla groups have failed to mount the concerted actions that would close it.

Any hope of tightening the siege of Kabul evaporated when Ahmad Shah Massoud, the guerrillas' most charismatic field commander, decided to consolidate his hold on the northeast third of the country. Mr. Massoud has his Tadzikh people, a stronghold of his building the semblance of civil government, even posting traffic policemen at intersections in some dusty towns.

## What Future May Look Like

Slowly, a pattern is emerging that suggests something of what the country may look like when the war finally ends. With many of the rebel commanders apparently convinced that the key to ending the war lies with the superpowers, many have stopped fighting, and wide areas of the country are reverting to warlord rule. The situation here, however, is far from clear. To mount ambitious missions that cross Government and rebel lines. Trucks loaded with supplies travel long distances out of Government-controlled cities like Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif, paying tolls to Government and rebel commanders alike.

In Kabul, the siege mentality of last year has given way to a dogged determination to resume normal lives. During a firefight this week between Government troops in Kabul's northern suburbs and rebels in the Paghman mountains, a visitor on a bicycle watched as butchers slaughtered camels, farmers tended to fields of spring wheat and schoolgirls walked arm-in-arm to school, apparently oblivious to the shells and rockets passing overhead. Everywhere there were offers of tea, and pleas for peace.

Last year, many in Kabul were ready to welcome the guerrillas. But now they are mentioned only to condemn them for the rocketing, and for the rebel leaders' refusal, until now, to negotiate for peace. On the bicycle ride, as on other forays, the greatest enthusiasm seemed to run for Mohammed Zahir Shah, the 75-year-old exiled king.

"Tell the Americans: the Afghan people want the King back," said an old trader named Abdullah, seated in a stall fashioned from flattened oil-cans. "When he was here, there was hope of this killing."

A crowd applauded. "Zahir Shah!" they shouted. "Zahir Shah!"

## Mohammad Zahir Shah, the deposed King of Afghanistan.

By JOHN F. BURNS  
Special to The New York Times

GROTTAROSSA, Italy — For most of the 17 years that Mohammad Zahir Shah has made his home in exile in Italy, the prospects that he would ever return to Afghanistan — much less return as the king he was for 40 years — seemed remote.

Now, many people who wrestle with the problems of restoring peace in his shattered homeland and large numbers of ordinary Afghans regard the 75-year-old deposed king as a potentially important figure in any settlement of their country's 12-year war.

It is a situation that Zahir Shah welcomes. But he is quick to say that the role he seeks is not necessarily that of king but rather of "an Afghan patriot," doing whatever he can to help end his country's suffering.

"I personally have no inclination of that kind," he said in an interview at the modest villa that he shares with his wife, Queen Homaira, in the rolling countryside of Grottoarossa, 20 miles north of Rome.

"Of course, the free decision of the Afghan people will be decisive in this matter," he said. "But from my personal standpoint, the question of the restoration of the monarchy simply doesn't come into my thoughts."

Members of his family say the king, who was overthrown in 1973, should be taken at his word. For one thing, he is not a vigorous man, having traded his passions of horseriding and hunting for occasional games of chess and for walks on the pathways that crisscross the surrounding fields.

The eldest of four living sons, Ahmad Shah, 55, lives quietly outside Washington, but speculation about a revived political role for the king has so far not extended to his heirs.

## Melancholy of Absence

"Age is something I feel," the king said softly as he sat on a sofa in the airy living room of the villa, fingering an empty cigarette holder. But more than age, what a visitor sensed about the slightly stooped, impeccably dressed man was the melancholy of enforced absence from his homeland.

The emptiness seemed captured, in a way, by the villa's decor, which offered only hints of its occupant's former station. Of the heirlooms of the Duranis, the clan that ruled Afghanistan from 1747 until 1973, all that he has about him now is an oil painting of his father, Mohammad Nadir Shah, who was assassinated in 1933, and scattered family photographs.

One of two sisters who remained in Kabul since the king some pages of Afghan calligraphy he bought in the Kabul bazaar. There are now framed on the villa's walls. (The other sister was the wife of Mohammad Daud, the man who led the 1973 coup. Both were killed in a Communist coup five years later.)

Most of all, what ties the king to his homeland are his memories. "I have a strong yearning to return and live the rest of my years among my compatriots, in the land where I belong," he said.

Hostility toward any revived politi-

cal role for the king runs high among hard-line Afghan guerrilla groups, notably the one led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a Muslim fundamentalist who spent time in one of the king's prisons. The hostility has extended to the assassination of leading royals among the 3.2-million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and it is not by chance that the gates of the villa here are watched round the clock by members of a special security force of the carabinieri.

Still, there are those who believe that in the tangled mess of Afghan politics, Zahir Shah may be the man to help break the impasse. Among these is President Najibullah, the Soviet-backed leader in Kabul, who has appealed to the king to engage more actively in the search for peace.

Another is Eduard A. Shevardnadze, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who met the king in Rome in December. The United States, too, has sent representatives to talk with him.

## Land of Feudal Relationships

Some diplomats see little value in the contacts, regarding the king as disqualified by his legacy. Vaulted onto the throne in 1933 at the age of 19 — the year that Franklin D. Roosevelt moved into the White House — he was overshadowed for nearly two decades by two powerful uncles. When he began putting his own stamp on his reign, in the 1950's, he did so in a way that offered little challenge to the feudal power relationships that kept Afghanistan mired in backwardness.

Others believe that Zahir Shah lasted as long as he did because he understood that the mosaic of tribal loyalties, religious affinities and regional rivalries that comprised Afghanistan — still paramount today — could only be held together by a ruler prepared to leave much alone.

Among ordinary Afghans, a less complex reasoning prevails. "When Zahir Shah was king, we were at peace," a Kabul taxi driver said earlier this month, lowering the sun visor in his cab to reveal a portrait of the king.

The first major step by Zahir Shah to involve himself again in his country's destiny came in May, when he issued a long statement, his first in years, that centered on an appeal for Afghans to come together in the quest for peace and offered his services.

Read over Afghan-language broadcasts of the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp., the statement caused a sensation in the bazaars of Kabul and other major cities, causing a surge in the exchange rate of the currency, the Afghan afghani, the national currency.

## King Champions Elections

What appears to have prompted the king was the disclosure that the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed that elections might be the best way to end the war. The king is an enthusiastic champion of the idea, perhaps because like a young member of Afghans, he recognizes it as the only way that the country can find a middle way between, on one side, Mr. Najibullah and the distrustful remnants of the Communist Government and, on the other side, Muslim fundamentalists like Mr. Hekmatyar.

A vote would almost certainly be to the advantage of the one guerrilla player, Sayed Ahmad Ghalani's National Independence Front of Afghanistan, that is clearly monarchist. But the king shows little sign of ambition.

NYT 6/3

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 13, 1990



Sayed Ahmad Gailani

## 'Salvation Society'

Ashgar Khan, an ex-minister and present head of the Afghanistan Salvation Society, a so-called independent organization, has said that Najibullah talks about changes without taking any action to introduce them.

He told a BBC correspondent in Kabul that regime should have realized that Afghans do not want a communist party.

The Afghanistan Salvation Society claims to have been independently established by ex-army officers and civil servants to promote peace.

Ashgar Khan also criticized the Mujahideen for lack of unity and failure to offer a comprehensive program to solve the current problem of Afghanistan.

He said groups presently cooperating with the Kabul regime are leftist and their participation does not change one-party rule in Afghanistan.

The Salvation Society was formed after the Soviet troop withdrawal in 1989. Its leaders have not participated in Jihad against the Soviet occupation. Because of this resistance is suspicious of their claims of Independence from the regime.

The Salvation Society supports the solution of the Afghan problem through negotiations between the Mujahideen and the Kabul regime, something that the Kabul regime supports. There is thus good reason for the regime to allow such so-called independent groups to carry out their activities. It improves regime's image and provides free publicity for the official policy of the regime. Personal ambitions of the members to regain influ-

ence in the future may be a motive behind their decision to form the Salvation Society. In view of the compromising attitudes of the Mujahideen and communists towards

groups also exist in exile, in Pakistan and the west, who are encouraged by organizations which believe in a third party solution of the Afghan problem.

AFGHANews 5/15

The following is an exclusive interview of Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani, Chief of The National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) and head of the Election Commission, with the Frontier Post (Peshawar) correspondent Maqbool Malik, on April 26, 1990.

Frontier Post: What is the consensus Peshawar-based mujahideen forces have arrived at Islamabad last Sunday with the president and prime minister of Pakistan?

Pir Gailani: During the meeting with president and prime minister at an Iftar reception, I explained my personal view that elections in Afghanistan could be held in two different spheres, under the supervision of international bodies such as UNO and OIC. In the liberated areas (Mujahideen controlled) Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) is the best platform to supervise the elections. While United Nations could supervise the polls in the areas controlled by the Kabul regime... We all including Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar reiterated that Afghan interim government will take this matter under consideration and we will have parties to thrash out the outstanding differences regarding the modalities of the elections and other issues of mutual interest. But my personal and party view is very clear and explicit that we want general elections to be held simultaneously under the aforesaid formula. Since we are exercising United Nations "will", we can never accept Kabul regime to supervise elections in the areas under its control. . .

. . . we have an election commission composed of seven parties and people from outside Pakistan and they drafted and approved unanimously a charter to hold elections. Maulvi Younus Khalis says he was averse with the name of elections as there was no such concept in Islam. While Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar wanted party-based elections, although everybody agrees that elections should not be party-based or on the basis of organizations, it should be on individual basis. This conflict is still there and we are trying very hard that we should reach a common solution. But, Hekmatyar insists that elections be held on party-basis and that means party should nominate its candidates for elections.

F.P: What is the response of Tehran-based mujahideen groups?

Gailani: I travelled to Tehran twice last month to thrash out outstanding differences with them. But all I can say is that the doors for talks have not been open and we hope we will soon reach some agreement.

F.P: What is the nature of difference with Tehran-based parties?

Gailani: Now there are two kinds of differences, one is that our Iran-based brothers want complete alteration of the constituencies or electoral centers. I told them that at present juncture when people are completely displaced, therefore it is very difficult to do so. But, we should reach an agreement about the alteration of the constituencies when we are inside Afghanistan. Second difference surfaced so far with Tehran-based Afghan unity is that they want right of women to vote, I told them that in our charter it is mentioned clearly that every Muslim Afghan has a right to vote regardless of sex. Thus, there is no restriction against women.

Gailani: My opinion is that if we could reach an agreement by sound and a feasible proposal in the regard of one of the best proposals would be that our Shia brothers come forward and join elections. I told them that instead of remaining spectators or raising their voices from outside they should join the commission and make their proposals when we go inside Afghanistan. So far only once Dr. Mohsani, one of the representatives of the Teheran-



based groups came to discuss the modalities of joining the commission. I expect them to come and help us. I am for free elections and not against the right of women to vote, as there is no prohibition for women to vote in Islam. Therefore, in these matters they should come and join the commission and help me. But boycotting the commission and speaking from outside does not serve the purpose.

**F.P:** What will be the role of the former King, Zahir Shah, in the forthcoming general elections?

**Gailani:** You see there is a criterim for any Muslim, who had defied the Kabul troops either ideologically or through armed struggle or through any news against the Soviet imposed Kabul regime is "mujahid" and can contest election. As far as the former King, he is a Muslim, and he stood against the Kabul regime and is very well qualified to contest in the elections. But people of Afghanistan are free to give any title to anyone. There is no bar on Zahir Shah to contest elections. This I am saying as a responsible head of the election commission. I personally feel that there should be no bar on Zahir Shah to participate in the elections. The view of my party is that the matter of heredity kingdom is now over, Zahir Shah is welcome even if the people of Afghanistan want him to join as head of the state, as a leader, as a figure head or as an elder, it is up to them.

**F.P:** When you would be able to complete the elections?

**Gailani:** I have already given the head of the AIG the drafted chart for the elections, although I would love to compromise, unity is still needed to evolve a consensus as I had put my energy into it but if they do not accept the drafted chart for elections and want more of what you call "narrowism", I will withdraw and they should give this responsibility to someone else.

**F.P:** What do you think is the best way to solve the Afghan crisis?

**Gailani:** Well I would say that the only feasible way to get Afghanistan rid of the crisis is the "will" of the people of Afghanistan. Their will could only be manifested through a loya jirga as result of the elections. That is the only solution of the Afghan problem.

**F.P:** Do you accept the result of the Kunar elections?

**Gailani:** We want one general election. The small elections or selections are not solutions to the Afghan problem.

## FOOD

### DINER'S SCORECARD

**Restaurant** - Kabul  
**Location** - 541 State Street, wheelchair accessible  
**Hours** - Saturday and Sunday, 11 a.m. to 11 p.m.; Weekdays 11 a.m. to 10:30 p.m., dinner menu available after 4:30 p.m.  
**Smoking policy** - separate sections  
**Price range** - \$6.25 to \$8.75 for dinner  
**Specialties** - Afghani and North African food  
**Reservations** - accepted  
**Charge cards** - Visa, MasterCard

The Kabul is on State Street. Two booths covered in black floral print offer the best view of the human parade. The dining room is small, but big picture windows filled with flowering plants and white stucco walls give it a bright, open look. Ethnic textiles and musical instruments on the walls distinguish the room, which is carefully separated into smoking and non-smoking areas.

The dinner menu lists five appetizers and 14 entrees. All of them looked interesting.

The Afghan bread, which (before it is cut) looks as if it were run over

by a truck, is a highlight. It measures 2 feet by 8 inches, but it can be rolled up like a newspaper, so it is not cumbersome to carry. (It is also sold as takeout at the Kabul and 15 local grocery stores and co-ops.) Although the bread contains yeast, it stays flat because it is not allowed to rise for a long time.

We ordered two appetizers and enjoyed both: The zushak, \$2.75, are tender scallion-filled dumplings. With them is ground beef spiced with coriander, cilantro and garlic, and cooled by yogurt and mint. The sambosa, \$2.50, was three crunchy fried pastries filled with garbanzos

and ground beef made hot with cayenne, cumin and turmeric.

The maushauwa (a soup sold as an appetizer, \$1.75, or served with an entree) was a rich, complex mix of chick peas, kidney beans, split peas, rice and meat. As was everything we received, it was served promptly and piping hot. The dinner salad contained fresh romaine, iceberg lettuce, wide curls of carrot and red cabbage and was dressed in a mild, fragrant yogurt enlivened with garlic and mint.

Tawabs Kabob, \$8.75, was served on the skewer. The big chunks of lamb, beef and chicken were commendably juicy and tender. The meat had been marinated in garlic, tandoori, masala and yogurt, similar to Indian cooking. The only flaw: Vegetables sharing the skewer with the meat were broiled until they looked too charred. The kebab was served on a big bed of perfectly cooked saffron rice.

Nuri's couscous, \$8.95, was unlike any other couscous we had seen because the vegetables and meat had not been cut into bite-size pieces. Chef Nuri Elguiaa, a native of Libya, said this is the authentic north African presentation: large chunks of vegetables and meat pan-fried in oil and stock while carefully coordinating cooking time. Everything about it deserves praise: The chicken fell off the bone, and the vegetables (carrot, mushrooms, zucchini, potatoes and garbanzos) were cooked until they could be cut with a fork and were filled with interesting flavor. It was served on a fluffy bed of durum wheat that was made pale yellow and flavored with turmeric.

The Kabul is owned by Ghafoor Zafari, who also owns the Second Story and Panjshir restaurants.

By Chris Martell

Wisconsin State Journal April 8, 1990

**BAKHAR AFGHAN KABOB HOUSE:** Despite the requisite folkloric wall hangings, this is a charming little eatery with enough fluorescent light to warrant wearing sunglasses. The Afghan food, however, is cheap and terrific. The spicy kebabs (\$7-\$8) sold as Afghan bread and basmati rice are delicious; though chicken and beef are preferable to the tough lamb. Beyond the kebabs, there are at least two special entrees worth a trip to Ninth Ave. "Kabooli palaw" and "manjoo" too. "Kabooli palaw" (\$8) is marinated chunks of beef with garbanzo and raisin sautéed over rice. "Manjoo" (\$7) is a large plate of handmade, lamb-filled dumplings topped with yogurt sauce. 536 Ninth Ave., bet. 39th & 40th Sts. (212) 967-2658. Open 7 days, noon-11 p.m. No credit. BYOB. Street level access. **DAILY NEWS**

Madison

New York April 23, 1990

# ORGANIZATIONS

David E. Edwards has been appointed Executive Director of FREEDOM MEDICINE/INT'L HEALTH & DEVELOPMENT SERVICES INC. FM/IDS was founded in 1985 to provide health care & development assistance through grassroots & community training programs & is working with Afghans. Robert H. Brenner is president of the organization which is at 3299 K St., N.W., Suite 700, Washington D.C. 20007.

The ACBAR RESOURCE & INFORMATION CENTRE (ARIC) has moved to 43 D/1 Old Jamrud Road (North), University Town, Peshawar. The mailing address remains the same: U.P.O. Box 860, Peshawar. Tel: 44392.

The REFUGEE POLICY GROUP, 1424 16th St., N.W., Suite 401, Washington, D.C. 20036, has received funding from the US Inst. for Peace for a project concerning the over 5m Afghan refugees in Pakistan & Iran as well as the displaced persons within Afghanistan. The objective of the project is to make recommendations for measures to ensure adequate international assistance & protection for the refugees, both now & later & to promote discussion of pertinent issues & options among gov'ts, international organizations & private humanitarian assistance organizations. Michael Knowles is the Project Director.

The UN Fund for Population Activities currently has a project to train 20 Afghan women as paramedics in preventative medicine & maternal & child health care. The training, implemented by Afghan Medical Aid, an Afghan-managed NGO in Peshawar, also includes family planning services. Projects under consideration include providing "reproductive health services" to over 6,000 women, training additional health care workers, & the production of ready-made weaning food in Afghanistan.

Since 6/89, UNHCR has provided assistance to Afghan returnees passing through "peace guesthouses" in Kabul & Mazar-i-Sharif on their way home. Returnees are given free meals by the ROA while they

are in the guesthouses. UNHCR provides basic food items sufficient for a 4-month period. In the 2nd half of 1989, over 12,000 received food packages. Of these, 2/3 passed through the Kabul guest house, the rest through Mazar-i-Sharif, most of the former from Pakistan & the latter from Iran. Over 50% of the Kabul case-load went to villages in Kunduz, 13% remained in Kabul & the rest to either Baghlan, Takhar or Parwan. Those returning through Mazar-i-Sharif went either to Faryab or remained in Balkh.

Anti-Western material is being distributed to aid offices in Peshawar. The following message appeared in offices on 6/5:

"In the Name of Allah, the Most Kind & Most Merciful

"The Muslim people of Afghanistan (The Mujahideen & Refugees). Avoid catching AIDS!

"The Christians brought you the most untreatable & deadly disease. The disease will kill you right after you are infected. This is AIDS (Antibody Immune Deficiency Syndrome) which decreases your body's immunity & will kill you in a very short time. This disease is spreadable & you may get it from sexual relations with people affected by this disease. And you may get this disease by sitting together & having close relations with Western Christians, those who are infected with the disease. Lately an Afghan was found to be suffering from AIDS & he was working for one of the Christian committees. He claimed that he had sexual relations with a Christian woman who worked with him for the same committee. That woman said after some investigation that 50 Western Christian women suffering from AIDS are working cross-border in Afghanistan with the mujahideen & in the refugee camps in Pakistan. She also said that their main object was to spread widely this dangerous disease, AIDS, among the Afghan mujahideen & refugees to change their power to weakness & their victory to defeat. We know from this trick that the Christians (enemies of God) do not ever want to see the establishment of an Islamic gov't in Afghanistan as a result of the Jihad.

"The Kafir will continue fighting against you until you change your minds from your religion' (Koran)

"Dear Mujahideen & Refugee Brothers:

"Distance yourself from Christians, who are bad. Do not have relations with them as they are trying to undermine your Jihad. They are carrying death under their smiles.

'God says: 'All you Muslims fight against these Kafirs that are close to you & try to run them from your side until they are far away.'"

From the Editor:

For our new subscribers, our general caveat: we don't necessarily approve of all the items we reprint; we offer them only as representative of what's being written about Afghanistan.

There was "congenial but not substantive" discussion on Afghanistan at the end-of-May summit; however, a State Dept. spokesman told us that since then there have been some "openings which seem provocative." US & Soviet UN personnel have been in contact. Yuli Vorontsov, the former Soviet Ambassador in Kabul, is now their UN representative. The UN Sec'y Gen'l's Personal Representative on Afghanistan, Benon Sevan, is talking to everyone. He even talked to us (see p. 2).

There's a rumor from Australia that Gulbuddin is now receiving all the Saudi aid directly & that he determines how it will be distributed. He does get good coverage in the Pakistani press (see p. 10).

A recent visitor to Pakistan noted a total frustration on the part of many Afghans there & an increasing anger at Americans who they feel are somehow responsible for their problems. He also noticed an increasing willingness on their part to concede some respect for Najibullah who at least is an Afghan & has something going.

The Kabul Gov't has been busy reorganizing itself & in this issue we've expanded the coverage from the Kabul Times, including photos & bios of the new cabinet members (pp. 27-31).

We are grateful to all of you who contributed to this issue. We depend on your willingness & generosity in sharing items which come to your attention. We also welcome your comments & suggestions.

The deadline for the September issue is August 10.

## EVENTS

THE COMMITTEE FOR A FREE AFGHANISTAN sponsored a forum on April 4 at the Heritage Foundation in Washington on the Afghan situation & the problems facing the resistance. Participants included Tahir Mayar, AIG Security Chief of the Southern Sector, Tariq Fatemi, Embassy of Pakistan, Robert Flanten, US Dept. of State; David Isby, author & CFR Board Member; & Jim Phillips of the Heritage Foundation.

An Afghan Crafts Sale & Open House, sponsored by AFGHAN COMMUNITY SERVICES, will take place at the Calvary United Methodist Church, 2315 South Grant Street, Arlington, VA on 6/30 from 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

"Afghanistan Rug Making & Design" was demonstrated by Jamila & Mahmood Masumi at CITY LORE 90, an annual festival in New York's Central Park, on 6/23.

"Afghanistan-Cambodge: Je Me Souviens," an exhibition of photographs by Harry Hayes, took place at the Centre Commercial de Meyrin in Geneva, Switzerland from 4/7-19. The exhibition featured 51 photos of Afghans & Afghanistan.



# U.S. Aid Funds for Afghan Rebuilding Seen as Wasted

By MARK FINEMAN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—Millions of dollars in U.S. aid money earmarked for the reconstruction of Afghanistan have been squandered through mismanagement, inefficiency and political miscalculations by the U.N. office in charge of the project, according to independent relief agencies, Afghan professionals, U.N. workers and Western diplomats.

The program was begun in October, 1988, as an ambitious, billion-dollar international effort to rebuild Afghanistan after a decade of war. Tens of millions of dollars have been spent on salaries, offices, vehicles and housing since then—but only a handful of roads, canals and villages have been repaired.

Poor accounting or no accounting has led to double-funding of projects, some of which are still unstarted. In numerous cases, money or material aid has simply been used for the wrong purpose.

In one instance, for example, funds earmarked for rebuilding a road between villages were spent instead on an illegal logging road that has further ravaged a rural area. In another, scores of oxen purchased under a U.N. project so that farmers in some areas could plow their fields again were eaten by returning refugees who had been given nothing to care for the animals.

The most controversial and costly of all the projects funded by the office of the U.N. coordinator, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, is a multimillion-dollar effort, financed largely by the United States, to help clear Afghanistan of millions of land and mines. These continue to kill or maim people returning from refugee camps in Pakistan to areas of Afghanistan where fighting in the civil war has subsided.

The U.S. Embassy in Islamabad cited the mine-clearance program last month in a report to Washington that harshly criticized the Sadruddin operation. It said it has "produced very little in the way of substantive impact on the humanitarian side."

A Western aid official said, "There's really nothing they've done well, and the mine program is typical of their failures."

A U.N. official who worked on the mine-clearing project called it "as scandalous as the mine fields themselves."

The United Nations has spent nearly \$3 million instructing 7,494 Afghans in mine-clearing procedure at a Pakistani army facility, but now, a year later, most of these

people have disappeared. Most of the remaining trainees are still considered unqualified, and fewer than 50 have gone into Afghanistan to begin work.

"They made a very expensive mistake," said Rae McGrath, who resigned in frustration last month as a key official in the mine-clearance program. "Rather than try to train 15,000 de-miners at a low level of competence, it would have been better to train 1,500 at a very high level."

"But the whole thing was poorly planned. They weren't training people, but they weren't giving any thought to actually putting them inside Afghanistan. They just jumped in overnight and went too fast in the wrong directions."

Western aid officials, who asked not to be identified by name, blame the impatience for quick, high-profile results on what they described as Prince Sadruddin's ambition to become secretary general of the United Nations.

The prince's office in Islamabad denies this. Sadruddin, a wealthy Ismaili Muslim based in Switzerland, was U.N. high commissioner for refugees for more than a decade and was personally endorsed by President Bush, a close friend, to head the Afghan program.

Shakil Khan, a retired Pakistani Army major who was appointed, by Sadruddin's office to head the mine-clearance program, conceded that costly mistakes have been made.

"It is a very important and well-founded criticism," Khan said of the charge that training funds were wasted. "But this is the first time the U.N. has taken up this kind of program. Now we have learned from mistakes, and we think the whole operation will improve this year."

Two U.N. mine-clearance teams of 27 men each are scheduled to begin work in Afghanistan after Tuesday, and the United Nations is negotiating to buy equipment that can clear large numbers of mines in a short time.

Still, some critics insist that large-scale waste will continue in the reconstruction project because of the way it is structured, with all the major U.N. agencies working in Afghanistan under the control of Sadruddin's office, which is thousands of miles away in Geneva.

U.S. officials, in their report last month, said: "There is not a single [U.N.] agency head in Islamabad who thinks the management approach is working, nor is there any embassy in Islamabad that will speak favorably of it. And worse,

there seems to be little or no prospect for improvement."

U.S. officials, who have run a largely successful cross-border aid project in Afghanistan for the past five years, have paid close attention to the mine-clearing program because it is financed almost entirely by the U.S. taxpayer.

They were upset when Sadruddin refused last month to use part of the mine-clearance money to fund an American project that was already under way in Afghanistan, using trained personnel and dogs that can sniff out mines.

Sadruddin said in a letter to the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan that the American project violated the dogs' animal rights. He said mines placed by human beings should be removed by human beings.

The message, circulated throughout the aid community, provoked a furious response from international aid workers, who questioned the prince's concern for the lives of the Afghan people being trained in mine clearance.

The \$1.5-million program, which is funded separately by the U.S. Agency for International Development, has problems of its own. The dogs are from Thailand and apparently understand only Thai commands. Thai military instructors and interpreters had to be brought in for two months last summer to train the American dog handlers, who then had to train Afghans through other interpreters.

Ironically, the Thai dogs are the descendants of dogs that the U.S. Army took to Bangkok in the early 1970s, and Thai dog handlers were trained by Americans.

Aid officials explain that the U.S. Army discontinued its dog program after the Vietnam War and that the Thai dogs were the only trained animals available. U.S. officials are negotiating to buy 40 additional Thai dogs for use in Afghanistan.

"Sure, there are some problems," one aid worker conceded, "but the dog story is really what the whole issue is about. Basically, it's a success story, and basically Sadruddin doesn't like it."

Experts involved in the U.N. project agree. They are quietly disregarding the prince's ban on using dogs, and not long ago, they committed \$450,000 in U.N. money for the purchase of vehicles to carry dogs into Afghanistan to work with the U.N. teams there.

Criticism of the Sadruddin operation is not limited to the high-profile mine-clearance project. Abdullah Ali, an Afghan technocrat who joined a U.N.-financed reconstruction agency in November, said the ultimate irony is the title of the program's director.

He said Sadruddin's official title is "Coordinator for the United Nations in Afghanistan," but if the program lacks anything, it is coordination.

"That's its biggest problem," he said. "Right now, everyone is

working unsystematically."

Ali cited the United Nations' approval last year of an Afghan resistance commander's request for \$1 million, which he said would be used to clear a road that he said serves 30 villages in Afghanistan's Kunar province.

"In reality," Ali said, "never in history were there even 30 people who lived anywhere near that road. What the commander did was reopen a road that led to one of the few forests left near the Pakistani border. He cut down all the trees and made a personal fortune."

"The problem is that no one is checking on anything, and the U.N. seems to be in a big hurry to spend all the money."

At Sadruddin's office in Islamabad, public relations director Rene Albreck conceded that there has been a lack of accountability in the program. He blamed it on the fact that such checking is impossible in a country still at war.

Albreck pointed to Sadruddin's latest official position paper, entitled "Plan of Action, 1990," and said: "The key word now is *systematic*. There was no systematic follow-up on anything in the past, and we would like to have more accountability."

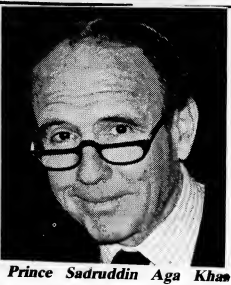
"But much of the larger problem, was based on a wrong assumption. We assumed that a million refugees would go home when the Soviets left Afghanistan last year, and the point is, nothing happened. Nobody went back. So we've been rethinking everything."

"There can be different types of mistakes, and in our case you can say the mistake was the miscalculation and being too optimistic."

International aid officials, who represent scores of countries that in 1988 pledged a total of \$195 million for the Afghan reconstruction effort, insist that they have been extremely costly mistakes.

"Maybe things will improve this year. Who knows?" a European aid official said. "But when you look at programs like the mines, it's not just the money. One wonders just how many limbs and how many lives might have been saved—and might yet be saved—if only the prince could get his act together."

LOS ANGELES TIMES APRIL 28, 1990



Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan



The UNOCA office in Termez, which opened last spring as the first of its kind in the USSR, is now fully operational. It serves as a base for UN activities in northern Afghanistan and also makes arrangements for the important multilateral contribution to Operation Salam made by the Soviet Government.

Many people outside UNOCA were sceptical about the Co-ordinator's decision to develop UN activities in northern Afghanistan and along the Soviet-Afghan border. But the success of the "Salam Express" trains, the missions organized from Soviet territory to Badghis and Badakshan, as well as the delivery of food and other items to several northern provinces and to returnees in Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif has helped to reinforce the humanitarian and strictly neutral role of UNOCA's mission.

These first successful operations have also answered the question of whether the

Afghans will accept assistance from Soviet territory. As one villager told the UN, "when the shuravi (Soviets) came with guns and tried to impose themselves on us, we fought; if they now want to come as friends, they are welcome". The Soviet authorities have provided support to all UN missions, permitting access to Afghanistan from numerous entry points and dispatching goods by train, truck and once by helicopter.

The complexity of the Soviets' pledge, which is mostly in kind, and their growing interest in multilateral assistance, provides the UN with great opportunities to develop direct contacts with the authorities. The three Soviet Republics bordering Afghanistan, naturally concerned with the development of peace there, have started to develop assistance projects at the provincial level, with each province of the Republics linked to a province of northern Afghanistan. The Termez mission expects to continue to create favourable conditions for UN agencies and NGOs operating in northern Afghanistan.

### Assistance to Iran-Based Afghans

The Co-ordinator's visit to Iran from 7 to 11 December 1989 presented an excellent opportunity for UNOCA to implement its mandate for co-ordinating UN assistance to needy Afghans wherever they are.

The Co-ordinator had wide-ranging discussions with senior officials in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Interior, UNOCA's two main partners. The immediate result of this constructive visit was the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding which gave a legal status to UNOCA for its future activities through Iran. This visit also allowed the Co-ordinator to hear the views of the Eight Parties based in Iran on future UN programmes for Afghanistan. It was proposed that Afghan NGOs be promoted so that they can act as a counterpart for the UN.

In addition, during an extended stay of the Deputy Co-ordinator, four Vocational Training Project Agreements were signed for the training of Afghans in various fields. Four more were signed later. Another result of the visit was the agreement to hold monthly meetings to review the progress of Iran-based UN assistance programmes relating to Afghanistan. The first of these was held in Tehran on 7-8 January, the second was on February 8-9, when an Iranian delegation, led by H.E. Mr. Mottaki, Deputy Minister for International Affairs, visited UNOCA Headquarters in Geneva. Both sides reiterated their wish to further strengthen co-operation between UN agencies and the Islamic Republic of Iran for the benefit of the Afghan people.

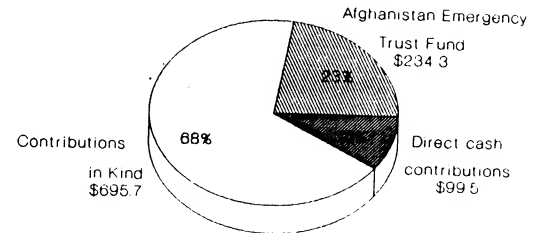
UNOCA underlined the urgency of a UN mission to Nimroz from Iran and the pre-mission visit to Zabul and Zahidan. The Ministry of the Interior would arrange the transport free of cost as a gesture towards the Office of the Co-ordinator. The importance of assistance to Hazarajat was stressed, as was the need for arrangements for de-mining in western Afghanistan.

A substantive exchange of views took place regarding the underlying principles and methods of implementation of the UN Plan of Action. The need to strengthen the process of assistance through Iran and to

encourage UN agencies to broaden the scope of their work in the context of Operation Salam was stressed.

Concerning the return of the refugees, attention was drawn to the continuing influx of Afghans into Iran due to the shortage of food in certain provinces. It was considered necessary to have adequate food stocks on the spot in order to feed the Afghans inside their country. The initial supply of 10,000 tons of wheat for pre-positioning in Iran could thus begin immediately. As for the UNOCA request for assistance in the regular supply of wheat to Afghanistan, the Iranian side stated that it would provide warehouses free of cost to UNOCA in Mashad and Zahidan for prepositioning its commodities.

### SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN CASH AND IN KIND AS OF MARCH 1990 (Total contributions US\$1,029.5 million)



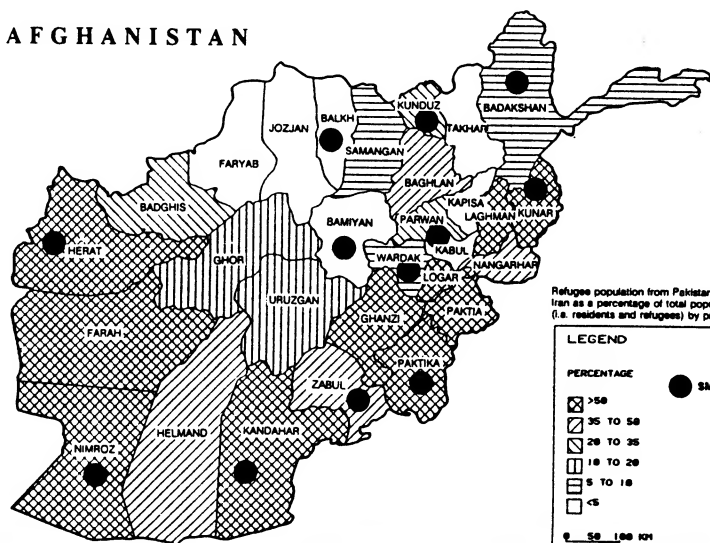
Source: UNOCA, Geneva

### DONOR RESPONSE TO THE UN EMERGENCY WINTER APPEAL RELIEF PROGRAMME APPEAL LAUNCHED IN DECEMBER 1989

Donor Country	Approximate value in US\$	Agency	Goods provided
Australia *	200,000	WFP	high protein biscuits (62 MT)
Canada	1,725,000		
Denmark *	287,356	UNICEF	high protein food (90 MT)
Finland *	723,574	UNICEF	unearmarked cash assorted commodities
France	5,000,000	WFP	20,000 MT wheat
Germany (DDR) *	705,882		food concentrates
Germany (FRG)	1,796,407	WFP	5,000 MT wheat
Greece	2,500,000	WFP	10,000 MT wheat
Ireland	48,000	UNICEF	cash earmarked for food and medicines
Italy	1,600,000	WFP	wheat and other items
Netherlands *	506,725	UNICEF	unearmarked cash
Norway *	427,000	UNICEF	high protein biscuits (120 MT)
Sweden *	1,000,000	UNICEF	unearmarked cash
Switzerland *	653,595	WFP	wheat; high-protein food pieces (45 MT)
United Kingdom *	160,000	UNICEF	cash earmarked for children's hospital
United States *	332,000	WFP	2,000 MT wheat/soya blend, 40 MT vegetable oil

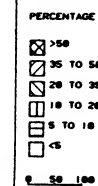
\* NEW PLEDGES, \$ 4.8 million

### AFGHANISTAN



Refugee population from Pakistan and Iran as a percentage of total population (i.e. residents and refugees) by province

#### LEGEND



SMU - Salam Mobile Unit



# Abducted nurse believed to be killed

From RAHIMULLAH YUSUFZAI

PESHAWAR, May 31: A young Afghan nurse, missing since the past 16 days, has apparently been killed in what is seen here as a rise in crimes against working Afghan women in NWFP.

Ms Malalay, a pretty 36-year-old nurse employed at the "Mother and Child Clinic" run by Ms Fatana Ishaq Gailani in Peshawar's Shaheen Town, was reportedly abducted on May 15. She was taken away on the night of May 15 from Lady Dr Ihsan Khattak's Clinic in Jehangirabad in Peshawar where she was a part-time employee and had also been provided lodging.

The hard-pressed Peshawar police was unable to provide details of her abduction as it is one of the many blind cases involving Afghans which have by now become a routine in the Frontier metropolis. The cops understandably argue that it was difficult to provide protection to such a huge number of Afghans living all over the city, now that they have become involved in a series of kidnappings and revenge killings.

Ms Malalay was allegedly taken to the Shamshatoo Refugees Camp near Peshawar. Stories circulating here portray a grim picture of how the unfortunate nurse was raped and tortured before being killed. It is alleged that she was a Parchami and deserved to be killed. It is pertinent to add that eliminating political rivals by condemning them as Khalqis and Parchamis has increasingly become the easiest mode of setting scores with opponents. Accusing fingers are again being pointed for Malalay's murder towards one of the most radical fundamentalist Mujahideen groups.

According to Ms Fatana Ishaq Gailani, Malalay originally hailed from Kohistan area but had been educated and trained as a nurse in Kabul. She migrated to Pakistan more than a year ago and was helped by her Afghan fiancé Dr Saboor to secure a job at Ms Fatana, Gailani's "Mother and Child Clinic" in Peshawar. She was scheduled to marry Dr Saboor in the near future and her father had already reached Peshawar from Kabul to supervise the wedding.

Ms Fatana, whose husband Ishaq Gailani is a prominent figure in Afghan Interim Government President Sebzhatullah Mojadeddi's Afghan National Liberation Front (ANLF), remembered Ms Malalay as a nice girl and a dedicated nurse. "I wept and couldn't sleep for several days as her innocent face stared me every mo-

ment", remarked Ms Fatana. She wanted to know as to why a helpless refugee girl who had not harmed anyone had been abducted by labelling her as a Parchami while a top Khalqi leader like Gen. Shahnawaz Tani who was responsible for the deaths of scores of Mujahideen was provided refugee in Pakistan. She wondered why Afghans and Pakistanis had become indifferent to crimes against women.

Her husband, Mohammad Ishaq Gailani opined that such incidents helped strengthen Dr Najibullah's regime and provided it propaganda stuff. He claimed several Afghan families were worried about uncertain conditions here had approached him asking for money to be able to undertake the return journey. "They feel it would be safer in Kabul despite the rockets fired at the city", he said.

Ms Fatana, Gailani contended that Afghan women sought jobs out of need to support their families. She complained that such needy women were being harassed instead of being helped. She felt it was a duty of Afghan Mujahideen leaders to take care of widows, orphans and poor families as they had all suffered because of the Afghan war. She related how she approached NWFP Chief Minister Aftab Sherpao, AGP Frontier Police and Mujahideen leaders Prof. Sayyaf and Haji Din Mohammad in connection with Ms Malalay's abduction but none seemed to have responded.

Ms Malalay is not the only Afghan woman who is missing. The whereabouts of two Afghan girls reportedly abducted in Peshawar's Hayatabad Township recently are still not known. Cases of harassing women and trying to abduct them near Katcha Garhi Refugees Camp have also been reported. Interestingly enough, the much-publicised Shabnamas (night letters) which were widely circulated in Kabul by opposition elements have also appeared in Peshawar in recent days. These Pashto and Persian Shabnamas have called upon Afghan women employed in hospitals, schools and western relief agencies to give up their jobs as it was immoral and against Islamic injunctions or face consequences.

The Muslim 6/1

## Western relief body attacked by angry Afghan refugees

A foreign organization working in the refugee camps was attacked by about 10,000 angry Afghan refugees on April 26, and suffered heavy material losses. Nobody was hurt in the incident.

The refugees in Nasir Bagh Camp, near Peshawar, attacked Shelter Now International (SNI) on the first day of Eid. The material losses to SNI are estimated at about one million US dollars.

There are conflicting reports about the cause of the attack, which is said to have been the first of its kind against a foreign relief organization by refugees in Pakistan.

Some refugees have told reporters that SNI had provided recreation facilities for widows in the camp. Some refugees considered this an insult to the Afghan women and reacted violently.

SNI has also been accused of taking pictures and video tapes of Afghan women, which is resented by the refugees. The organization was also accused of spreading Christianity among the refugees.

The chairman of SNI, Thor Armstrong, told reporters in Peshawar that his organization had done nothing against the religion and tradition of Afghan refugees. He said a local paper played a role in inciting the people against SNI.

Wahdat Daily had published a report about the activities of SNI, based on reports provided by Afghan News Agency of Hezb Islami Hikmatyar.

Twenty-five Afghan refugees have been detained by Pakistani authorities in connection with the incident.

Rustam Shah Mohmand, Home Secretary of N.W.F.P., told the BBC that the government is investigating the causes of the incident.

He said those found responsible will be tried under Pakistani law. He said the refugees' accusations against SNI also will be investigated to ensure that SNI has not violated its mandate.

SNI, an Australian relief organization, was founded in 1982. It has provided houses and food for needy refugees. SNI has employed both Afghans and foreigners to run the organization.

Since the incident took place during Eid holy days, there was not enough police force available to check

the crowd, which resulted in the heavy material losses to SNI.

It may be some time before the reasons behind the incident are uncovered, but one can guess at some of the possibilities which might have led to the outbreak of violence against SNI.

Any project for the women in Afghanistan must be planned and applied with special care. Afghans are religious people, and believe strongly in tradition. The irresponsible behavior of previous governments and the communist onslaught on religious and traditional values of the society has made Afghans more sensitive.

Unfortunately most of the foreign organizations working for Afghanistan have only a superficial understanding of Afghan traditions and religious values. Their contact is frequently limited to a few educated, elite Afghans whose thinking differs from the majority of the people. This could have been the source of mistakes which irritated the refugees.

The Kabul regime is interested in such incidents to exploit them for political ends. It has the means to plan and execute such actions to defame the Mujahideen and undermine international support for the refugees.

But the possibility that the incident was a politically motivated action by some Mujahideen political parties cannot be ruled out.

No doubt such incidents will be used against Afghans by their enemies. Moscow Radio used the incident as a propaganda chip against the resistance.

A spokesman for Prof. Mujaddidi described the incident as "a sad development" for the relief work of voluntary organizations at a time when the refugees need their support.

The incident has pleased anti-western groups interested in Afghanistan. They call it an uprising of Muslims against negative western influence.

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May 15, 1990, page 8

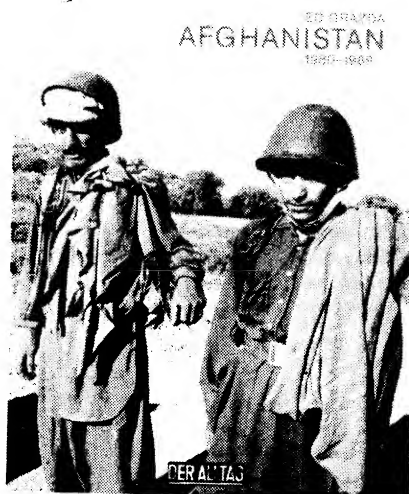


## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A Dari Translation of "Afghanistan 1978-87, War, Demography & Society" by Marek Sliwinski has been issued by the AFGHAN JEHAD WORKS TRANSLATION CENTRE, Peshawar. The original article appeared in CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY, May 1988.

AFGHANISTAN 1980-1989 by Ed Grazda, Sonderausgabe der Kulturzeitschrift, Verlag Der Alltag, Frankfurt/Zurich, 1990. 140 pp. SFr. 17.

Available from  
Eisenden  
an  
Buchhandlung SOI,  
Postfach  
3000  
Bern 6,  
Switzerland.



HERAT: THE ISLAMIC CITY: A STUDY IN URBAN CONSERVATION by Abdul Wasay Najimi, Curzon Press, London, 1988. 175 pp.; maps & illus.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN & AFGHANISTAN REVIEW, Vol. 10, #19, June-August 1990, contains the following articles on Afghanistan: "Former King Zahir Shah Condemns Najib Regime" an interview with Italian journalist Augusto Zuccone, "Kabul's Power Struggle Highlights Internal Discord," "Afghan Refugees Facing Food Shortage," "U.N's Afghan Aid Program Coming Under Increasing Criticism," "Afghanistan: Gorbachev's Exception" by Harry Hayes.

VIVRE OU MOURIR POUR KABUL by Jean-Jacques Vidal-Huber & Charles Verpoorten, in collaboration with SaSa & Harry Hayes & the SE Asian & Afghanistan Review. Editions Way Press, 126 pp. \$25. Available from SE Asian & Afghanistan Review, Case Postal 265, 1217 Meyrin 1, Geneva, Switzerland.

THE AFGHAN OBSERVER is a monthly bulletin published by VDA, Vesterbrogade 89, 1.th., DK 1620 Copenhagen V, Denmark. A 3-month subscription is 50 DKr, 6 months, 100 DKr, 12 months, 150 DKr.

Newsletter #31 from the AFGHAN REFUGEE INFORMATION NETWORK (ARIN) 77, Chelverton Road, London SW15 1RW, contains articles on "A Medical Project Among Afghan Refugees in Karachi, Pakistan" by Charlotte McPherson, "A New Breed of Afghan Photographers" by Tony Hyman, "The Solitary Old Woman" by Kubra Negargar.

AFGHANISTAN - THE COST OF FREEDOM is an illustrated journal published by the AFGHAN MEDIA RESOURCE CENTRE in Peshawar. The January-February 1990 issue focuses on the destruction of buildings in Afghanistan & the problems of reconstruction. The next issue will deal with agriculture. Subscriptions are \$40/year, \$50 for institutions. Individual copies are \$10. Order from AMRC, GPO Box 909, Peshawar, Pakistan.

New from the Alberuni Publishing House in Kabul: "To Stop War is the Nat'l Obligation of Every Afghan" (January 1990), "Party Unity an Earnest Need for Its Might" (January 1990), "Peace, A Dire Quest of Every Afghan" (Feb. 1990), "Not through the war, can we solve Afghan issues" (Feb. 1990), & "Key to solution of Afghan issue is with Afghans" (March 1990.) All are the words of Najibullah & are available from the Afghan Mission to the UN, 966 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Send along a dollar for postage.

TREASURES OF ISLAM, copywrited by the Musee d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, 1985. Available from Wellfleet Press, 110 Enterprise Avenue, Secaucus, NJ 07094. 398 pp., illus. ISBN 1-55521-514-9. \$39.95.

DAWAT is a Dari-language paper published by M. Tariq Baryali, Hareid Asylmottak, Block C., Rooms #108-208, 6060 Hareid, Norway. The issue we have is dated 4/20/90. 8 pp., good paper, nice print.

"Red Star Over Afghanistan" by Elie D. Krakowski in GLOBAL AFFAIRS, Spring, 1990. Pp. 109-132.

NAMA-E-KHORASAN is a hefty periodical issued by the Cultural Society of Afghan Refugees, P.O. Box 4611, Hayward, CA 94540.

## BOOK NOTES

**WORKING WITH REFUGEE WOMEN: A PRACTICAL GUIDE**, edited by Ninette Kelley, available from Elizabeth Ferris, World Council of Churches, PO Box 2100, CH-1211, Geneva 2, Switzerland. The book is a result of a meeting held last year in Geneva where refugee women, voluntary agency workers, UN officials & others met to share their experiences.

Edited by Ninette Kelley under the auspices of the Non-Governmental Organization Working Group on Refugee Women, this book provides an overview of issues affecting refugee women in five specific areas: protection, health, employment and development, education and cultural adjustment. (*Refugees* 12/89)

**A GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF GAINING INDEPENDENCE** by Prof. Azizuddin Wakeli Popalzai, in Dari, ROA Ministry of Culture, Kabul 1990. 208 pp., illus. About King Amanullah's reign.

**BEYOND THE KHYBER PASS, The Road to British Disaster in the First Afghan War**, by John H. Waller, Random House, New York & Toronto, 1990. xxxiii + 329 pp., illus., maps, biblio., index. ISBN 0-394-56934-2. \$24.95.

"How long will the Afghan question remain a political football?" in **SOVIET MUSLIM BRIEFS**, Vo. 5, No5-6, 1990, pp. 10-12.

The **AFGHAN FORUM/NETWORKER's** first issue appeared in June. We object to the use of our name and we hope the second issue will be called the **AFGHAN NETWORKER**. The publication is issued by the Int'l Center for Dynamics of Development, 4201 S. 31st St., #616, Arlington, VA 22206. The organization says it "facilitates networking among Afghans & in the Int'l Community toward Peace, Democratization & Reconstruction in Afghanistan."

د پښتون بدی  
د سړی اور دی

"The Pashtun's enmity is like a smouldering fire."

*The Bazaar of the Storytellers*. By W. L. HESTON and MUMTAZ NASIR. Islamabad: Lok Virsa, n.d. 349 pp. Rs. 150. (Distributed by South Asia Books)

The Pathans, with territory on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistani border, are "perhaps the largest tribal community living in the world today" (p. 11). Their language, Pashto, is an eastern Iranian one written in a modified form of Persian script. This book of Pashto stories, selected and translated mostly from modern cassette versions available in recent years in the Qissakhwani Bazaar in Peshawar, marks a great leap forward in Pashto studies. Lok Virsa, the official Pakistani folklore institute, has been gradually building archives full of tapes and transcripts in Pashto and a number of other Pakistani languages; the quality and range of this collection have made it a wonderful resource for the all-too-few South Asian and Middle Eastern folklorists with the necessary language skills. Now W. L. Heston is working on a project to bring some of the most representative of the Pashto tapes to English readers. This volume is the first part to appear.

The fourteen stories included here have almost all been translated from cassette tape versions sung by professional singers who rely variously on chapbooks, memory, and improvisation. The stories are so popular that at least six of them have been made into Pashto movies; others have reached a national public through television. They were chosen "to depict the Pathans and their life and culture as presented by their own singers" (p. 15), and that is just what they do. Male cousins appear (because of Pathan inheritance patterns) as natural enemies, and the Pathan code of "hospitality, revenge, and the granting of refuge" (p. 14) is much in evidence. Heroes are both ravishingly attractive (eliciting vocatives like "rosebud") and also, if the occasion arises, valiant fighters.

The stories themselves are presented in two thematically defined groups: five romances, usually with the names of the two lovers (male first) as a title, and nine battle stories, usually with the hero's name as a title. The former group includes what has been called the "Pashto Romeo and Juliet," the "Pashto version of Othello," and an unusual story of a male Pari who falls in love with a female human and dies for it. Three of these stories end in the death of both lovers, two in the death of one lover; none ends in happy earthly union. The foes in the nine battle stories include infidels of Arabia in the Prophet's time (one story), wicked cousins (two stories), and the imperialist British (six stories). All the heroes, after glorious feats of martial prowess, end up dead—but they are of course mourned, remembered, and celebrated in story.

The translators have turned verse into prose, at the general rate of one sentence per verse. They have kept to a very literal rendering, which sometimes works entertainingly well—the "British were totally made into dog food" (p. 299)—and sometimes presents difficulties for the English reader—a hero "made himself but a drop of liver's blood for his people" (p. 307). But for the serious student, such faithfulness is invaluable. On a martial (not romantic) hero: "His hair was long and nicely kept and the girls were also longing for his beauty. His eyebrows arched like hunting bows and his large eyes gleamed like bullets, friends! He wore caps or hats on his head and they praised him in place after place" (p. 195). What more could any hero want from a translator?

Each story is provided with a few introductory paragraphs about the background and source of the text; more detailed notes are also supplied. Heston and her collaborators at Lok Virsa have produced a collection that shows care, thought, scholarly integrity—and delight. All of us who love good stories are in their debt.

FRANCES W. PRITCHETT  
Columbia University

THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES

Vol/ 48, #4 Nov. 1989



# THE KABUL TIMES

## New work system

The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan in accord with the provisions of article 46 of the RA's law on work system, for better organising of the work system, rational and efficient use of work time, and to prevent traffic problems at peak hours endorses:

Article 1—The working system at the state institutions in 1369 H.S. after the month of Ramadan is specified as follows:

1.—At the state organs, work begins at 7:30 AM and ends at 1:30 PM without interruption, viz six hours work a day and 36 hours a week.

2.—At the service institutions:

In banks, insurance institutions, custom houses, information and cultural institutions, telex, telegraph and telephone, post networks, power stations, specialised civil aviation, meteorology, health centres, clinics, hospitals, state pharmacies and state stores work will begin at 8:30 AM and ends at 3:30 PM with one hour break from 12:00 to 1:00 PM.

— In some of the above institutions, taking into consideration the work peculiarities, specifying work shifts, in accord with the requirements and taking into view the above norms, can be worked out.

The working hours of some other specialised state organs or some service departments outside the above categories, based on the proposals of the ministries and the approval of the Council of Ministers, can be regulated.

3.—At the productive institutions, the beginning of work and regulation of shifts, both in the productive and administrative spheres, taking into view the peculiarity of the work provided the per-week working hours does not ex-

ceed 36 hours, can regulate their work system.

4.—The productive and service institutions, taking into consideration their requirements, can adopt necessary measures whether they cook food or pay the food allowance in cash to their related employees.

5.—In the educational institutions of the ministries of education and higher and vocational education and administrative departments attached to these organs, the work regime should be regulated different from the work system of the state organs to prevent traffic jam in the city.

Article 2—Regulation of shifts and specifying of work hours at the general education and higher educational institutions will be regulated by the related institutions.

Article 3—The working hours for the armed forces organs taking into view the work peculiarity of these organs will be regulated by the Minis-

ters of Defence, Interior and the State Security.

Article 4—The working hours of state employees at the provinces which will be regulated by the provincial executive committees and confirmation of Central office for labour and social security should not be less than six hours a day.

Article 5—The ministries of the RA are duty bound to pay the lunch allowance of their employees in cash taking into consideration the official days including Thursdays and the month of Ramadan at the end of the month as part of their salaries. Those state organs which cook food in accordance with this resolution are excluded.

For meeting the needs of the state employees from the view points measures as regards creation of canteens, as soon as possible be taken and the Council of Ministers be assured to this effect.

Article 6—The Central Office For Labour and Social Security is duty bound to control implementation of

this resolution and report its execution till the end of the second quarter of the year 1369 H.S. to the Council of Ministers of the RA.

Sultan Ali Koshmand, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Council of Ministers.

APR. 21, 1990

## STATE OF EMERGENCY LIFTED:

As the State of Emergency is lifted and abolished, the following is declared, in accordance with the provisions of the concerned laws, for the information of the countrymen and precise arrangement of the activities of various state organs:

First, the powers of the National Assembly, prescribed in Paras 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9, Article 81 of the Constitution, which were transferred as per Decrees No. 1489 and 115 to the Council of Ministers, shall be returned to the National Assembly.

Second, the limitation and suspension of clause 4, Article 144 of the Constitution, which had been introduced on the basis of Decree No. 1486, shall be cancelled. Third, as provided by

para 2, article 14 of the Law on the State of Emergency, provisions of the law are abolished with the enforcement of this decree.

Fourth, the Supreme Council for the Defence of Homeland shall be dissolved as per Para 27 of the Law on the Council. The provisions of the law and the stipulations emanating from it shall be cancelled.

Fifth, the decrees Nos 1489 and 115 on introducing the State of Emergency and decree No. 768 of August 1989 on the foreign travel by the citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan in the State of Emergency, shall be abolished.

The decree shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Help Comes From Allah Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan. MAY. 3, 1990



View of the complete recitation of holy Quran, attended by President Najibullah, in the congregational mosque of Presidential palace.

4/19-

# Decree on restoration of people's properties

The following provisions are approved with the aim of further promotion of national reconciliation, for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and confidence for the citizens on a guarantee of

varieties of legal properties and paying eager attention to the private sector as a part of the national economy; given the injunctions of the sacred religion of Islam as being the basis for action of the State of the Republic of Afghanistan.

## Article One:

State-confiscated movable and immovable properties of individuals and private institutions, including land, cashes, foreign exchange, stocks, companies, factories, inns, shops, trade firms, public baths and trade goods being in the custody of the State, for various reasons, are to be relinquished from State's custody and returned to their owners or the individuals covered by the second article as per the provisions of this decree.

## Article Two:

If the owner is present, the property shall directly be returned to him, otherwise it will be put at the disposal of his legal assignee or trustee.

## Article Three:

Excluding residential house, and apartments, immovable properties, which will be separately regulated, are identified on the basis of legal documents and handed over, according to the register of the relevant offices to the owner or the individuals listed in the second article of this decree as per a verdict of an authorized court as follows:

1—If the property is in possession or use of State's institutions, departments, and enterprises, its return process shall take a maximum of six months from the date of the owner's or other individuals' presence covered by the second article of this decree.

A decree of President Najibullah has been issued on the return of State-confiscated properties to their former owners with the following content:

2—In case the property is in use of other individuals, the return process shall take a maximum of six months from the date of presence of the owner or other categories named in the second article of this decree.

3—Up to the delivery of the immovable properties to the owner or the individuals mentioned in the second article of this decree, the revenue coming out henceforth is paid to them since the date of their presence.

## Article Four:

The return of the movable properties or the payment of their cost to their owners or the individuals mentioned in the second article proceeds in the following order:

1—The property which has come in the custody of State administrations, enterprises, State and mixed institutions, and organizations, the same is returned provided it has not been utilized or sold.

2—If sold, the sale price recorded in the relevant register is paid without any change or commission by the State.

3—The property, given to the State or mixed institutions and organizations on *gratis* basis, in case of existence the same, otherwise, its price is paid by these institutions and organizations as per the register.

## Article Five:

In case the State has spent additional sums for the construction or completion of the immovable properties or the debt of the owner has been cleared as per the lawful claims of the State or other individuals on the property, the return process is regulated in the following way:

1—The property is restored to the owner or the categories listed in the second article and the State expenses are charged on the owner or the individuals in accordance with documents.

If the owner or other three of individuals of the second article are unable to pay, they have to pay the state expenditures in instalments up to maximum of five years.

2—In case the owner or other individuals listed in the second article do not need the property or cannot pay the expenditures as the first item of this article, the property is purchased by the institutions, enterprises or organizations having it in its possession on the basis of mutual consent and agreement of current prices.

## Article Six:

If the State has invested more or expanded the plant for the sake of extending its activities, the factory is assessed and studied as per a verdict of the authorized court. It is returned to the owner and on the State's expenditures the following procedure will be carried out.

1—The property is returned to the owner or other individuals listed in the second article and the state expenditures are paid by them as per the estimate expenditure bills. In case of inability, the expenditures have to be reimbursed by instalments in five-years.

2—In case of the agreement of the owner or other individuals of the second article, the factory can function, in mixed way, by the owner and the State in accordance with the law.

3—If the State's institutions have partially transferred the machinery and equipments, belonging to the private sector to some other places, and operated the equipments or on a mutual agreement the cost is paid by the register of its delivery, recorded in the offices concerned, to the owner or other individuals listed in the second article.

## Article Seven:

1—If the categories named in the second article do not approach the property is relieved from the custody and handed over to the authorized court.

2—The authorized court is bound to adopt legal and religious processes in connection with the protection of the property, its revenues as per articles 223 and 228 of the Civil Law and other enforced legislations, in view of the term of previous absence.

3—Observing the first and second item of this article, the authorized court can hand over the property to the concerned organ for keeping, the factory active and strengthening the national economy in case of the non-existence of the owner or other individuals named in the second article.

## Article Eight:

If the owner passed away the abandoned property would be returned to his heirs in accordance with the law and the Sacred Shariat of Islam.

## Article Nine:

The owner of the property, in the custody, does not deserve to receive the revenue and its interest during the years of his absence.

## Article Ten:

The courts of the Republic of Afghanistan and its political missions abroad are bound to take prompt and necessary

measures for preparing the documents when the individuals listed in the second article approach them.

## Article Eleven:

The Attorney General Office of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Special Attorney of National Security have to supervise the implementation of the provisions of this decree.

## Article Twelve:

A special commission has to be formed with the composition of the representatives of the concerned organs to review and prepare the draft for the legislative decree on the return of the residential houses and apartments in the State's custody.

The special commission has to submit up to three months this legislative document to the authorized organs for final decision.

## Article Thirteen:

The enforcement of this decree, to bring under State's custody the movable and immovable properties of the individuals is proclaimed to be prohibited and any dealing by the concerned State organs towards people's properties proceeds in the light of the constitution and other enforced legislations.

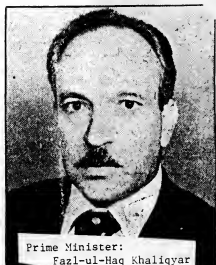
## Article Fourteen:

This decree runs into force after the date of approval and is published in the official gazette.

Najibullah

President of the Republic of Afghanistan

## premier

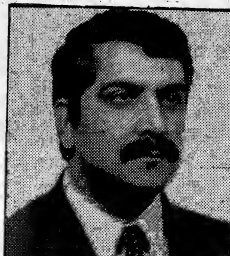


Prime Minister:  
Fazl-ul-Haq Khaleqyar

Biography of Fazl-ul-Haq Khaleqyar (BIA 5/10):

Khaleqyar "was born in 1934 in Newcity, capital of Herat Province. After receiving his bachelor degree from the Faculty of Economics, Kabul University, he entered the gov't service in 1958. He held several civil service positions from 1958 to 1969 at the Ministries of Planning, communications & Finance. In 1970 he was governor of Baghlan Province & later he served as 1st deputy minister of Finance & since 1961 [sic] Mr. Khaleqyar served as minister without portfolio at the Council of Ministers & governor of the North-West zone. In 1988, he was awarded the title of Hero of the Republic of Afghanistan & has also received several orders & medals." He is married & has 2 sons.

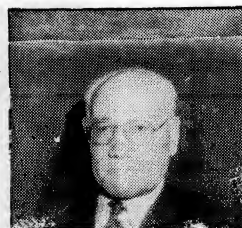
## deputy-premiers



Mahmoud Baryalai

Born in an intellectual family in the 10th precinct of Kabul city in 1944, Mahmoud Baryalai s/o Mohammad Hussain graduated from Habibia Lycee in the capital in 1962 and from the faculty of economics of Kabul University in 1966. Mahmoud Baryalai began his working career as a state employee in the Planning Ministry in 1968 and left for the Soviet Union in 1972 for higher studies and received his M. A. in political sciences from the State University of Moscow.

In April 1978, he was appointed a member of the Revolutionary Council and three months later, he "took over as Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Pakistan. On December 27, 1979, he was re-admitted as a member of the Revolutionary Council and served as chief editor of the 'Haqiqati-Janglabe Sar' daily. In June 1988, he was appointed first Deputy Prime Minister. Mahmoud Baryalai has made several trips to several Asian and European countries and is a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.



Academician Dr. Abdul Wahid Sarabi:

Born in Sarab of Ghazni province in 1926, Abdul Wahid Sarabi s/o Mohammad Nuroz completed his education in the country and went abroad for higher studies. He received his Ph. D. in economics in 1956 and a diploma in education in 1967 from an Austrian University.

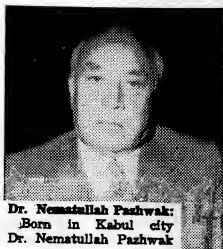
Dr. Abdul Wahid Sarabi taught in the Kabul commerce school from 1949 to 1950 before going abroad for higher studies. After returning home, he served as a teacher in the faculty of economics in 1957 and as dean of the same faculty in 1960. In 1973, Dr. Sarabi was appointed deputy rector of Kabul University and dean of Faculty of Economics. After two years, he was relieved from his post as deputy rector of Kabul University and remained as dean and a professor of the Faculty of economics.

In 1967, Dr. Sarabi was appointed Minister without Portfolio in the government and two years after he served as the additional post of Acting Minister of Mi-

nes and Industries for eight months. In 1969, he became the Minister of Planning. He not assignment from 1973 to 1978. From October 1979 to February 1980, he served as an adviser to the Ministry of Justice. In February 1970, he was appointed adviser to the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education and a lecturer in Kabul University. In January 1965, Dr. Sarabi was appointed adviser to the Council of Ministers and served as the Minister of Higher and Vocational Education from December 1967 to June 1968. Since then he has been serving as a Vice President in the affairs related to economy, science, culture and social services.

A non-party individual, Dr. Abdul Wahid Sarabi has a command of German and English languages. He is married and has got a son and a daughter.

During the period of his service, Dr. Sarabi has been awarded medal of patriotism, medal of education, medal of Loya Jirgah, Order of peoples' friendship, two orders of honour and several merit certificates.



Dr. Nematullah Pazhwak:  
Born in Kabul city  
Dr. Nematullah Pazhwak

s/o Hafizullah completed his education in Kabul University and received his M. A. and Ph. D. from Columbia University in the United States.

He began his working career as a State official in 1957 from the then Ministry of Education. After serving a few posts, he was appointed head of the department for secondary education, cultural head and cultural councillor of Afghan embassy in Moscow, head of the translation and compilation department, Bamyan governor, and Kabul governor.

Within the monarchial regime, Dr. Pazhwak

was appointed Minister of Interior and in the first republican regime of Afghanistan as Minister of Education. He resigned from his latter post in 1974. In January 1980, Dr. Pazhwak was appointed adviser to the Council of Ministers and worked as Minister without Portfolio in the government since the proclamation of national reconciliation policy in January 1987 till mid

February 1989.

He has made many official visits to both eastern and western countries like the Soviet Union, France, FRG, United Kingdom, Turkey, Iraq, etc, and has attended the international and regional fora either as a member or a head of the Afghan Delegation. In addition to his governmental posts, he has worked as a leading member of the National

Reconciliation High Commission, Deputy Chairman of the Afghan Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation, Chairman of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Association, acting head of the UN Association of Afghanistan, chairman of the Afghan-Swedish Friendship Association and member of the Lawyers' Association of Afghanistan.

He has received academic and honorary medals from the Afghan and foreign authorities.

Dr. Pazhwak is married and has two sons and four daughters.

BIA 5/23 - Sarwar Youresh, presidential spokesman, told the press that of the 36 Cabinet members, 23 are non-party members, 12 are PDPA members & 1 is a member of the Democratic Movement of Afghanistan.



**Dr. Mehr Mohammad Eljazi** Minister of public health in the designated government.

Born in Kabul province in 1934, Dr. Mehr Mohammad Eljazi s/o Mohammad Ramazan, graduated from the Isteglal Lycee and received his MBBS from the Faculty of Medicine of Kabul University in 1961.

Between the years 1966-1969, he was studying orthopedics and general surgery at the Academy of Sciences of France and received the specialist's degree of that university. Between the years 1974-1977, he continued his studies in the field of urology and surgery in France and received his degree of Doctor of medical science and the title of professor from the Academy of Lyon of France.

He began his working career as a Doctor at the Avcinna, Alilabad and the Women Hospitals. He was appointed dean of the Faculty of Medicine in 1982 and between the years 1983-1988, he served as the president of the Kabul Medical Institute. Later, he became the chief of service at the same institute.

Mehr Mohammad Eljazi was appointed the Minister of Higher and Vocational Education in 1989.

He speaks, French and is not member of the PDPA.

## Abdul Wakil...

**Abdul Wakil** Minister of Foreign Affairs in the designated government.

Born in 1946 in Kamari village of Kabul, Abdul Wakil s/o Mohammad Harif graduated from Habbia Lycee of Kabul in 1964 and from the faculty of economics of Kabul University in 1971. From April to July 1978, he served as a member of the Revolutionary Council and as Secretary General of Foreign Ministry.



**Mohammad Hakim** Minister of Finance in the designated government.

Born in 1934, Mohammad Hakim s/o Mohammad Karim, received his BA in economics from Swiss. He began his working career in the Foreign Relations department of the Kabul University in 1953 and then he was appointed in the Indian Company. In 1972, he was appointed president of Da Afghanistan Bank.

Mohammad Hakim was appointed advisor to the finance ministry in 1971 and later president of the Hotel Enterprises and in 1986 president of the chambers of commerce and industries.

Mohammad Hakim is not PDPA member. He speaks English and has received the Order of Honour. He is married and has three children.

From this date upto December 1979, he had the post of Afghan Ambassador to London. In December 1979, he was appointed as Minister of Finance. From 1984 to 1986, he served as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Afghanistan to Vietnam and then to Prague in 1986. He was then appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs a post which he is holding till date.

As Foreign Minister and head of the Afghan delegation, Abdul Wakil signed the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan on April 14, 1988 and attended the UN General Assembly sessions and meetings of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries in Nicosia, Zimbabwe, Belgrade and New York. Abdul Wakil is member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC. He is married and has seven children five sons and two daughters. He is fluent in English.



**Raz Mohammad Pakteen** Minister of Interior in the designated government.

Born in 1938 in Pakтия province, Raz Mohammad Pakteen s/o Anar Khan, he was graduated from the Kabul Teachers' Training College in 1959. He was sent abroad for higher education and received his diploma in electrical engineering. He was appointed as a lecturer at the Kabul Polytechnics in 1969 and in 1973 he left for abroad to continue his studies. He got his doctorate degree in 1977. He was reappointed as a lecturer at the Kabul Polytechnics in 1977 and in 1978 he served as the deputy minister in the Ministry of Water and Power and in 1982 was appointed as the minister. On 17 of March 1990 he was appointed the Minister of Interior.

Dr. Raz Mohammad Pakteen serves as the deputy chairman of the

Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan (PSFOA), Deputy Chairman of Afghan-Soviet Friendship Association and Chairman of Afghan-Kampuchean Friendship Association. He has received the orders and medals of the Republic of Afghanistan in appreciation of his meritorious works.

He is a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. He speaks English.

Dr. Raz Mohammad Pakteen is married and has four sons.



**Saleha Farouq Etemadi** Minister of Social Affairs in the designated government.

Born in Kabul province in 1929, Saleha Farouq Etemadi received her B.A. from the Faculty of Literature of Kabul University. She was appointed as an instructor at the Mahalal Lycee in 1949, and later as the vice-principal of that school.

She was appointed the president of the Women Association in May 1962. She served as a lecturer at the Faculty of Literature of KU in 1963 and since 1966, she had no official post.

In the course of her official career, Saleha Farouq Etemadi has had

an outstanding role in the establishment of kindergartens, nurseries, creation of the Volunteer Women Association, mourning halls, creation of the first "child and mother" care centre and the Mothers' Fund in the country.

In appreciation of her meritorious services, she has received the scientific medal of the French Government, the medal of Pohana, (education), the first degree Meena Pal (patriotism), Rishteen Mutala (the high golden), the medal of the 70th independence anniversary of the country and the friendship order of the Japanese government.

She is not member of the PDPA. Saleha Farouq Etemadi speaks French.



**Army General Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi** Minister of State Security in the designated government.

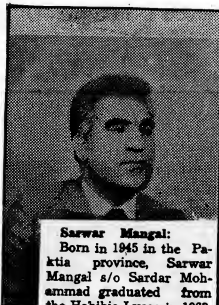
Born in Kabul city in 1938, Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi s/o Khan Mohammad graduated from Nejat Lycee and Tsarandoy Academy in 1958 and 1968 respectively. Then he was sent two times for higher education to the FRG and he received a diploma from that country. He was a lecturer in Tsarandoy Academy in 1961. Similarly he served as director of operation of the Security General Command, head of the Anti-Crime De-

partment of the Ministry of Interior and Commander of Laghman province Tsarandoy command.

The Army General Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi was appointed as vice-president of state Information Services and Minister of State Security of the RA in 1979 and 1985 respectively.

He has been awarded numerous orders and medals and is a member of the politburo of the DPA CC. He is married and has one son and two daughters. He speaks Persian and English languages.





**Sarwar Mangal:**

Born in 1945 in the Paktia province, Sarwar Mangal s/o Sardar Mohammad graduated from the Habibia Lycee in 1963. He then joined the faculty of economics in Kabul University and went to the Soviet Union afterwards where he got his M.A. in political economics. He worked as an employee of the Public Works Ministry from 1970 to 1973 and then went abroad for higher education. From 1976 to 1979, he was an advisor in the Ministry of Public works and from 1979 to 1980, he was the deputy of that ministry. Sarwar Mangal was deputy minister of Higher and Vocational Education from the year 1980 to 1982 and then the minister of Higher and Vocational Education upto 1988.

From 1983 to 1988, Sarwar Mangal worked as the deputy-chairman of the council of ministers and the president of the State Committee for Planning.

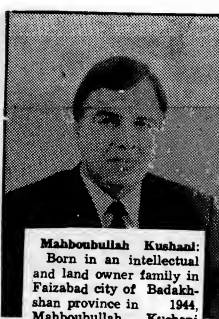
He was the ambassador, extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan in Hungary from 1986 to 1987.

From 1967 to 1968, he was the president of the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan. Since then, he is the deputy-premier. He is married and has two daughters and one son.

Sarwar Mangal knows English and Russian languages. He has won many medals and orders. He is a member of the PDPA.

#### THE KABUL TIMES

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**Mahboubullah Kushani:**

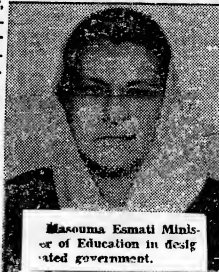
Born in an intellectual and land owner family in Faizabad city of Badkhashan province in 1944, Mahboubullah Kushani s/o Esmatullah graduated from Habibia high school and received his M.A. in political economics from the Friendship University of Moscow.

Kushani began his working career in different posts in the department for irrigation survey from 1970 to 1978 and was appointed as a staff of power department in 1979. He was appointed in different posts of the Ministry of Planning from 1980 to 1987.

Mahboubullah Kushani served as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and President of the State Committee for Planning from 1987 to 1988. He is deputy prime minister since 1987.

Mahboubullah Kushani also serves as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Movement of Afghanistan.

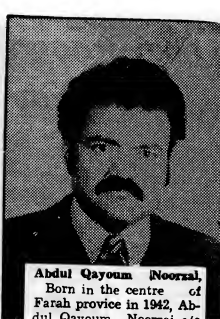
He is married and speaks Russian.



**Masouma Esmati Minal:**  
of Education in designated government.

Born in the Kabul province, in 1930, Masouma Esmati s/o Abdul Iqbal has got her M.A. degree in the field of education from the National College, Chicago University of the United States.

She was appointed as an instructor at the Malalai Lycee in 1948 and



**Abdul Qayoum Noorzai:**

Born in the centre of Farah province in 1942, Abdul Qayoum Noorzai s/o Akhtar Mohammad, graduated from the Teachers' Training College of Kabul in 1961 and received his BA from the Faculty of Literature of Kabul University in 1963.

Abdul Qayoum Noorzai began his working career as an instructor in 1966 and continued this job till the year 1973 in different institutions of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education. From 1973 till 1978 he was serving as member of the Social Sciences Department of Pashtu Academy. In the month of April-1978, he was appointed as the deputy minister of Education and

later as the deputy minister of Information and Culture.

In March 1979, he became the Editor-in-Chief of the Khalks periodical of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and in December 1979, he served as head of the administrative and financial department of the PDPA CC and in charge of military and civilian affairs of north-western zone, i.e. Farah and Naimruz provinces. In April 1981 he was appointed as the Chairman of the central council of Peasants' Cooperatives Union and in August 1985, he served as an advisor to the State Committee for Printing and Publication.

In March of 1986, Noorzai was appointed as the Editor-in-Chief of the Dehghan periodical, the publication organ of the Central Committee of the PDPA and from April 1988 till now he is serving as the deputy from the 141<sup>st</sup> constituency of Farah province in the House of Representatives. He is member of the PDPA.

Abdul Qayoum Noorzai is married and has two sons and two daughters.

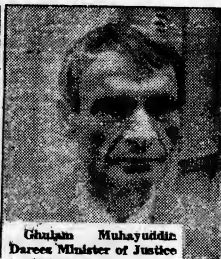
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is a general controller of the Kabul city's girls schools in 1957. She became the principal of the Zarghouna lycee in 1968. She was elected as the people's deputy at the House of Representatives in 1969. In 1971 served as an instructor at the Malalai lycee and in 1959 at the Seyed Jamaluddin Afghan Teachers' Training College.

She was appointed as an academic member at the social science centre of the Academy of Sciences of the RA in 1980. She has taken active part in over twelve scientific national and international conferences and in appreciation of her meritorious services she received medals and orders inside and outside the country.

Mosouma Esmati Wardak was appointed as the Chair-person of AAWC in June of 1987. She is not a member of the PDPA.

Masouma Esmati speaks English and French. She has some published works. She is married.



**Ghulam Muhayuddin Dareez:** Minister of Justice in designated government.

Born in the Panjshir District in 1932, Ghulam Muhayuddin Dareez s/o Doost Mohammad has received his MA in the field of law. He began his official career at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences in 1958 and obtained the academic membership of the same in 1968.

From the beginning of 1968 till now Dareez

Faculty of Fiqh at the Islamic University. He has been awarded medals and orders of the Republic of Afghanistan. Dareez speaks English.

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serves as the dean of the

## THE FORUM TALKS TO...

BENON SEVAN, the UN Sec'y Gen'l's man on Afghanistan, who took a few minutes



from his frenetic schedule to fill us in on his travels. He was about to leave for Tehran/Islamabad/Kabul/Geneva - anywhere there might be some use in discussing Afghanistan.

He looked weary. Nevertheless, he's hopeful. "Why else would I be doing this?" He believes that almost everyone, perhaps with the exception of a few fanatics, deems a military solution to the Afghanistan situation impossible & that a political solution is the only way. He sees some progress: "Things are very different than they were six months ago." He feels that if the outside powers can come to some sort of agreement, that's progress. Once they do, the Afghans can get down to battling it out for themselves, the way they always have. But, he said, "everyone has to save face." He said that the US, in agreeing that Najibullah couldn't run as an incumbent, had gone about as far as it could go.

Asked about continuing weapons supplies, he said there would be a solution, although he added that since most of the weapons being supplied are old models, it was probably cheaper to dump them in Afghanistan than to store them.

He said that Pushtuns are now in the minority in Afghanistan. Whether this is significant or just mildly interesting didn't come up, but he did say that Najib's ethnic policies had done him credit. He commented on Najibullah's ability. Even if he's a puppet, "he's no plastic puppet, he's smart, a very intelligent man."

He was not happy about the recent & increasing violence in Peshawar, the attacks on relief agencies but, he allowed,

"Everybody has missionaries; Christians have missionaries, Muslims have missionaries."

We spoke of a mutual acquaintance, a government employee in Kabul who had a close relative who defected to the mujahideen. Our friend told Sevan that when he went to Najib to offer his resignation, Najib gave him a gun. "To shoot yourself?", Sevan asked. The Afghan explained his country's tradition of giving a gun to a person to indicate trust.

Mr. Sevan has skill, charm & experience in diplomacy. And best of all, in spite of exhaustion & frustration, he can still laugh and does. We approve of that.

We asked him where he lived. "On a plane," he said. He was probably off to Tehran before we got home. We took a bus.

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## EVENTS - Continued from p. 1.

A report on a survey undertaken in 1989 by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan to assess insect infestations & food deficits in northwest Afghanistan was the topic of a slide presentation by Don Meier at the ACBAR RESOURCE & INFORMATION CENTRE in Peshawar on 5/29.

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES regional meeting schedule: Pacific Coast, Stanford University, June 29-July 1; Mid-Atlantic Conference, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, October 19-21; Southwest/Western Conferences, University of Texas, Austin, October 12-13; New York Conference, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, October 6-7.

## MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION

The Middle East Studies Association will hold its 24th annual meeting at the Marriott Riverwalk Hotel and San Antonio, Texas Convention Center, November 10-13, 1990. The Center for Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Texas at Austin will be the host. Information and registration forms is available from Middle East Studies Association, 1232 North Cherry Avenue, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721; phone 602-621-5850.

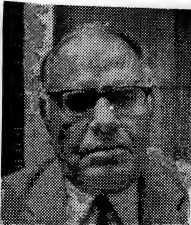


**Mohayuddin Shahbaz**  
Minister of Statistics in  
designated government.

Born in 1947 in Kabul. Mohayuddin Shahbaz s/o Shahbaz Khan joined the faculty of economics of Kabul University after graduation from Aveenna High School. From 1972 to 1975 he went to the United States where he received his M.A. in economics and demography.

In 1970, Shahbaz began his working career as an employee of the Man Power department and in 1976 became general director of the control section of statistics. In 1980, he was president of the Central Statistics Office. Shahbaz worked in 1982 as advisor to the State Committee for Planning and later on in 1983, he became deputy head of the Planning Dept. In 1985, he was appointed as president of the Central Statistics Office.

Shahbaz has no political affiliation and knows English. He is married and has three sons and a daughter.



**Dr. M. Anwar Dost** Minister of Light Industries and foodstuffs in the designated government.

Born in 1940 in Kandahar province, Mohammad Anwar Dost s/o Haji Jalaluddin graduated from Mirwala Nika Lycee of Kandahar and later from the faculty of economics in 1960. In 1967 he went to Federal Republic of Germany for higher studies and got the M.A. He served for one year in the Dutch Bank of Bohn city. He has done his Ph.D. in the field of national and enterprise economy.

Dr. Mohammad Anwar Dost served as assistant in the faculty of economics, Kabul University in 1975 and in 1978 he became a lecturer in that faculty and in 1988 he was appointed the dean of that faculty. He is a non-party person and knows English and Dutch languages. He has 26 scientific works and has been awarded the order of Mahmood Tarzi and four medals. He is married and has four sons.



**Dr. Faqir Mohammad** Neekzad Minister of Construction in designated government.

Born in Kabul province in 1936, Dr. Faqir Mohammad, Neekzad s/o Ghulam Mohammad, has obtained his Ph.D. in construction engineering. He began his working career as an engineer at the Ministry of Construction Affairs in 1962 and served as a construction engineer at the Prefabricated Housing Complex in 1968 and in 1970, he was appointed head of its engineering department. In 1978, he was appointed the technical vice-president of the Afghan Construction Unit. At the beginning of 1980, he served as the president of the Banal Construction Unit and in 1985 as the president of the Basic Constructions of the Ministry of Planning and in 1987 he served as the deputy of Construction Affairs of the Kabul Municipality.

From 1969 till now he has been serving as the President of city and housing construction department.

Dr. Faqir Mohammad Neekzad is not member of the PDPA. He is married.



**Sarjang Zazai** Minister of Frontier Affairs in designated government.

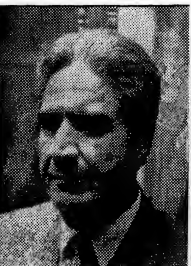
Sarjang Zazai s/o Mohammad Hanif Khan was Born in 1927 in Ahmad Khel Zazai. He graduated from the military high school in 1941 then attended the military university where from he graduated in 1944. He was appointed as an officer in the Guard Regiment. In 1944 he was sent to India and from 1957 to 1961 to Turkey for higher education. He received the degree of Staff Officer from there. Upon his return from Turkey Sarjang Zazai was appointed Chief of Staff of Headquarters Division in 1967 and commander of division No. 15 of Kandahar. In 1975 he was the commander of division No. 14 of Ghazni.

Sar Jang Zazai was appointed commander of Herat division in 1977 and later commander of Division No. 20 of Nahrin and governor of Baghlan province. He retired in 1978.

From 1985 to date, he is minister without portfolio in the Council of Ministers.

He has been honoured with the order of "Star", "Red Banner", and "Peoples Friendship".

Sarjang Zazai is not a party member. He is married, has 7 children. He knows Turkish language.



**Engineer M. Ghufuran** Minister of Agriculture in designated government.

Born in 1933 in Araba village of Nangarhar province, Engineer Mohammad Ghufuran, son of Ali Gul graduated from Kabul Agriculture Lycee and in 1957 left for the United States to continue his higher education. He received his degrees of B.S. and M.S. from California University.

Engineer Mohammad Ghufuran began his career in 1955 in the ministry of agriculture as a professional employee. In 1963 he was appointed deputy head for agriculture of Nangarhar Canal Project and in 1973 was head of the developmental project of Nangarhar Valley. In 1976 he was appointed head of the plant protection Dept. and subsequently general director of extension. Mohammad Ghufuran was general director of the operational group of research and extension dept. in 1979 and in 1981 he served as an advisor in the Forestry Dept. In 1986 he worked as general director at the Forestry General Dept.

Engineer Mohammad Ghufuran is minister of agriculture since 1988.

Engineer Mohammad Ghufuran is a non-party person and can speak English. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

### The Kabul Times 5/26

From right to left:

KHALILULLAH, MINISTER OF TRANSPORT, DR. NOOR AHMAD BARIS, DR. SHAH WALI. SAID EKRAM PAIGEER, DR. FAQIR MOHAMMAD YAQUBI AS MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.



متر مینو  
وزیر  
نوا



متر سید اکرام  
وزیر  
نوا



متر دکتر شاه  
وزیر  
نوا



متر سید اکرام  
وزیر  
نوا



متر غلام الله  
وزیر  
نوا

هيواد

Born in 1935 into a peasant's family, Sultan Ali Keshmand graduated in 1961 from the faculty of economics Kabul University and served in the Ministry of Mines and Industries till 1968.

In 1964, Sultan Ali Keshmand took part in the founding congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and was elected as a full-fledged member of the party's Central Committee.

He actively took part in the political demonstrations and meetings of 25th October 1965 and was put behind bars for some time.

Keshmand was elected to the membership of the executive body of the Central Committee in 1971 and to that of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party after its unity was established in 3rd of July 1977.

For long years, Keshmand served professional posts in the PDPA. Since April 27th, 1978 he had the post of Planning Minister for three months, after which, he undergone another hard term of 16 months of imprisonment.

In 27th of December 1979, he secured once again in the membership of the Central committee Politburo and undertook the post of Vice-President of the Revolutionary Council in the State and that of the Prime Minister in the government. He was appointed Prime Minister in 1980 and worked in this post till mid of 1988. Keshmand was once again appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers' Executive Committee in 16th February of 1989. He was given the post of the first Vice-President in May, 6, 1990, which was approved by the parliament nine days later.

Too many articles, translations and writings of Sultan Ali Keshmand particularly on economic affairs have been printed. He is married and has got four children.

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Sultan Ali Keshmand.

[Photograph on p. 12]

# Army General Mohammad Aslam Watanjar Minister of Defence

Born in 1946 in Pakhtia province, General of Army Mohammad Aslam Watanjar s/o Alam Khan graduated from the armoured faculty of military academy.

In 1968 he began his career as an officer in the armoured force No. 4. He was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Communication in 1978. He was appointed Minister of Interior and Chief of Staff of armed forces later in 1979 and in the same served as Minister of Communications and as Minister of Mohammad Aslam Watanjar has been serving as Minister of Defence since March of 1990. He is member of Politburo of PDPA CC. He has been honoured with numerous orders and medals. He is married and has got six children.

Shahnawaz s/o Abdul Halim, Sayed Mohammad Gulabzoe s/o Gulabzoe, Mir Sahib Karwal s/o Ghulam Qader, Naiz Mohammad Momand s/o Honar Gul, Gen. Nazir Mohammad s/o Aqamir, Gen. Dost Mohammad s/o Hazrat Khan, Shahzad Lewal s/o Sultan Akbar, Qadir Aka s/o Abdul Ghafoor, Abdul Qadir Aslam s/o Mawlad, Saleh Mohammad Zeral s/o Gul Mohammad, Ghulam Dastagir Panjshiri s/o Malik Dad, Mohammadullah Safi s/o Sobhan

Shah, Feda Mohammad Feda s/o Jon Mohammad, Gen. Mohammad Hashim s/o Qachir, Mohammad Hashim Watanwal s/o Mohammad Omar, Honar Ghairat s/o Awal Mir, Khalilullah Kohistan s/o Enayatullah, Rahimullah Osoli s/o Abdul Ghafoor, Gen. Sayfullah s/o Sayed Mohammad, Abdul Habib s/o Abdul Hamid, Guldad s/o Bahram, Noor Wahab Sapand s/o Jamil Khan, Abdul Rahman Basam, s/o Mohammad Haasan, and Abdul Rashid Aryan s/o Abdul Majid.

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Eng. Nazar Moh'd (right) & Moh'd Ibrahim, 1st Sec'y of the DYOA are new PDPA CC members.

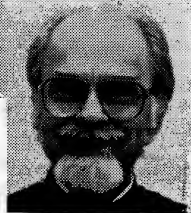
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On behalf of weekly Akhbar-i-Hafta and Sa-bawoon magazine, Dr. Zaher Tanin interviewed Inder Kumar Gujral, Foreign Minister of India.

Question: Allow me to pose by first question by taking into account the interest of our readers in the present Afghanistan relations.

Answer: Our relations with Afghanistan have got an old history which covers long long centuries. Of late our relations and cooperation have expanded and both the countries have got further closer as never before. Both the countries have common ideals for social transformations. Our commitments towards the Non-Aligned Movement and peace are in harmony.

India is ready to positively respond to the demands and needs of Afghanistan. We will assist you what we have in power. No one should think that our aid to Afghanistan has a charity basis, but the aid is the reflection of deep fraternal ties, which will be further consolidated in future.



I. K. Gujral

I want to know the view and the position of your government towards the question in and around Afghanistan, particularly at present

We believe that the Afghans themselves should determine their destiny. Unfortunately some of the countries that have signed the Geneva Agreements have ignored their undertakings and have withdrawn themselves back. We are of the opinion that the solution of the Afghan issue is only accessible on the basis of

the realization of the Geneva Agreements between Afghanistans and Pakistan. India supports the State of Afghanistan and its policy for peace.

Some of the Afghan Mujahideen leaders like Mr. Hekmatyar has expressed his readiness to enter the anti-Indian war 'In support of the Kashmiri 'Mujahideen'. Under such circumstances, in India there are the offices of the Mujahideen of Alliance of Seven and no murd is seen for their activities. What is your comment on this issue?

Answer: Of course we are aware of the above realities. What is harming you, is harming us too. We are attentive so that no anti-Afghan activity is launched from the Mujahideen offices here. We have told the Afghan embassy in Delhi to let us know in case of the least anti-Afghan move noticed and we will not permit such activities.

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# He, who is umbrellaed by God and people is crowned with triumph: President Najibullah

First of all, I consider it as a matter of high veneration to myself, to be brought up among you and to have learnt precious lessons from your sainthood asceticism and fervour and also for the fact that the purified forefathers' blood, skin to your life and Afghan and Islamic blood is flowing in our veins.

The fact is that I would like to begin from a point which I could totally comfort you from, the anxiety and hazards of what has happened in our common home.

Tanai comes from Pakista and, henceforth, I have given instructions to my comrades not to call him Tanai but in its place only, name Shahnawaz because should he does not feel blushing than I would feel. If (God may not will) tomorrow I take a refuge to Pakistani, not to their generals, not to their majors. Yesterday I received a notice that from arid the Pakistani's a director of frontier reconnaissance department had met Shahnawaz and talked to him made interrogations and gave orders to him. Should I refer to such a layman in Pakistan; what Pakistan? That Pakistan which not only fans up hostility with the PDPA in the past and present. The PDPA did not exist when the Pakistanis were your enemies, the enemies of the Afghans. As a member of the Afghan society, as a member of the party, as an Afghan, should I consider myself allowed to fall to the foot of a Pakistani layman, then would you have still considered me as of your kin son? Would you have called me a part of your Ahmadzai? Tanai? The name of Tanai is a name of a degraded name of a Khatol person as Tanai, don't degrade the name of Khatol by calling as Khrolos those Guibuddin and Saiaf who belong to this community.

Think of a leucocytic trauma in your hand which is a part of your body, of course, you try to treat it by using some medicine, some ointments, and perhaps you get some injections, and if not it is cured, you finally make a focal surgery and if it still continues aching then you will make an amputation of your hands. Why then the people may tell you that your whole body was infectious? Why should they say that you made the wrong option? No, I only did away with the pathogenic microbes. Now I, too, repelled whatever a trauma had developed in your body and had disfigured it. Now I would like to talk in detail and reveal all what happened. Not I would pledge an abbreviated presentation, but squarely a detail form. Availing this opportunity and using this tribune, I intend to, once again, talk to the Afghan people, to the opposition and to Tanai, who is now being settled. Man is indispensable to death. With the hope that he will hear me and should he still hold some peerage and baronage, he ostentatiously commit a suicide.

I vowed that I would not call him Tanai, but instead I would name him Shahnawaz but this time I mentioned Tanai, because there was a mention of baronage and nobility. One better to kill himself rather than to sit with the Pakistani whatever I tell him from this place, he may hear, this is why once again I called him Tanai I addressed him to reappear as a Tanai as a Pakistani and as an Afghan, I dealt all this to call you as father, you do allow me, so to speak, to flee from this field tomorrow and go to seek a refuge from a Pakistani army major. Will you then still consider me as an Afghan? Will you still consider me as your son? Then what for you are a matter of anxious and then you say that happened, was totally in our own house, and the defame would only go to us and so to speak, we could not high-headedly look at anybody. You are high-headed why should you feel your heads down?

Honourable Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan made the following speech when meeting some elders and leaders of Pakista on Mar. 11, 1980 in Kabul.

You told me that nobody dare visit me from the ARG (palace). Only they were the palace people. I am sitting along with you right on the ground. My two muddy huts in Mallangit is known there and this is why I survived the event since I am not a man of palace. A man of ARG, he bombed the ARG, the assassin did not drop bombs over Najib, he can not drop bombs on Najib he had the privileges of possessing means of bombardments, he had the planes and bombs, but I had the God with me and the people, I had been fostered with my mother's milk and had been reared in my parental noble environ and I had taken your consultations and advises and, thus, I survived. Should the God wills I say this for the sake of just for power, I had repeatedly declared to you and to the world that whoever aims to come to secure peace, right now I would be prepared to quit this position; I do not say this for the sake of power contests, but the God almighty is with me and I tell you now that the God shall preserve me to the end, the God vowed that he is with the perseverance.

May I speak of perseverance but before that I tell you that the whole world is busy and you are also worried of a bad eventuality inside our party and what happened was in between the Khalqis and Parchamis, since he was a Khalqi and I was a Parchami; but I first punished punively the Parchamis and you all know this. I tell you that the name of Khalqi does not involve them. The Khalqi stood firmly with me and I would sacrifice myself to their nobility and baronage.

I made this point to you because, here, the party comrades are also sitting by, and perhaps, at night the whole party members may hear me in the capital and the provinces. The assassins were not Khalqis and I would present to you the precedence that when the Khalqis and Parchamis splitted, then from the Khalqi faction that is from the Taraki-faction a group of members purged who were called Zarghonis. They all hear what I say now, and I am not letting you down. How they became Khalqis? Yes, under the cover of being Khalqis, those who every day defend their ditches and sacrifice themselves and burn like pieces of wood in flames, but this particular group are warming up their hands do you consider them Khalqis? No, this is a business, even the Khalqis they were not Khalqis. The Khalqis stoutly held out in their ditches and stood on my side.

Now comes the turn for talking on the perseverance. On 8th of Sunbula (HS). We detained a network who were working members for Gulbuddin. What they really intended to do? After their detention and their leader's detention in Kabul, a bunch of organizational documents were recovered and I happened to come to the understanding that they worked in a three-staggered way.

One in the army, the other as a para-military network, and the last in the cultural field as a group aimed the scholars and so to speak intellectual elite. I summoned the incharges and I called up comrade Yaqobi and told him: Comrade Yaqobi! Think it over. The organizational structure and the names and the fact that the name of Wali Shah topped the list and the names of other generals were in the run-up, made me suspicious of a plot for slackening our army with such a wide activity, the intrigue

might have been designed for the purpose of weakening our hands. He told me that I made the point with a concise precision and he will keep in mind that point. I told him, No, this is not the way to approach. You should bring me at night the wholesome of interrogations, pages to my house. I would go over each of the hand written confessions. I summoned the assigned attorney and the attorney general and bound them to bring the whole case of interrogations under their direct supervision so not a simple slap should one receive and the whole case should get a just approach.

I told them first to capture that para-military section since they would recouse to subversion and bombists. The member of this section soon became our captives, and made admissions. They confessed that they were members of this party and were responsible for bomb explosions in the Indian Embassy and in the Polytechnic Premises. You remember that the school was and in the Loya Jirgah, the mullas were praying in the polytechnical premises and a number of bombs went off for all of them they were responsible and they also caused some explosions in some educational centres and in the Mirzoyan area which was the most horrible one. They made confessions for all those subversions. But what shall you do now? They said that they were part of this plan so as on the pre-determined day recouse to a number of rages in different parts of the city and to explosions. Where are the explosives? Where are the emplacements? They made admissions to all and every night via TV the recovered explosives that we showed to you were all the proofs; then what else do you require? By the way, who falls death as a result of the explosions are the innocent people, the children, women, the old who walk around for their safety. Now how should you then, desire a clemency for the perpetrators? For those who once blasted off a house, a shop, a city village and the school, then you now are sitting here and keep calling me a nice clemency. If you may call me a man of "mercy" then I tell you that no body is more compassionate than I. I am almighty but doesn't you have his own hell which may not remain empty although; He is the most merciful and Mohammad and other God messengers will also ask for clemency in the doom's day, this is because He will overlook what has been committed as an breach to the almighty's rights but will not mercy what breaches made against the right of his servants. Will He be clement over the severity of the crime of tearing into pieces the orphaned children, the disstributes by a blast off? They have mother they may have fathers and children. No doubt that the children will come under the God's protection, should they take the straight way of life, but those who have been martyred they also had sisters and mothers, fathers and children. They also are screamed after, with piercing noises. This is the reason why I am afraid of nothing and this is the reason why in the Loya Jirgah when you burdened me with such a massive responsibilities, I took the oath of allegiance.

This is a burden that you put on my shoulders and I accepted it proudly and moved ahead. You witnessed the proof of what I said that even if my life is required, rather than the power position, I will sacrifice it. I was awakened on that day that I was meeting some representatives of Baghlan people in my office and afterwards some elders from Salang and when they left, I returned to my office and the raids started. I came under the protection of the God almighty and I repeat that I am very afraid. The only think which one should afraid of, is that the scale of justice had been trusted on me by the God, how could I keep it, I am only afraid how would I tomorrow respond in the doom's day as I am asked why you squarely breached the



balance of the scale of justice. On that day, to you all the people and all Afghanistans. In the presence of the God Almighty I will be presented and I would be asked about that orphan's father who perished in that way. I declared the other day that 25 people were martyred and 150 others were injured now the number of the casualties rose to 80 why? Because the death bomber was under the debris demolished buildings under the fragments of rocks and gravels. Those who were under the debris then I will be asked about them. Najibullah why didn't you feel for them? You did not care for their rights how could I propose my place to those who bomber was for the sake of power acquisition while I was meeting elders in Paghah? How could I propose to them to replace me? They bombed me, okay, but what right they had to bomb Pulikheshti congregational mosque? In fact they signaled to the Wahabites that they destroyed with the mosque of Pulikheshti and they destroy the mosques. What right they had to bomb the Mirwaid Avenue and the Shahrinaw area. The other day I visited the hospitals to see the in-patients. I wept for those routed-up people and met a man with infuriated face and was yet to be operated, he told me that I consider you as the source of a fair judgement. I told him you are right, he said that he had bought with eighty thousand Afghani cart and had been selling his copper goods. He totally was made dispossessed of them. What could I offer to my children to eat? he said. "Don't you cry for this man? Was he inquisitive? I am only afraid of such similar case and I am worried for the scale of punishment case and I am worried for somebody's punishment have been excessively punished some other. This is the most grave responsibility.

So those admissions were made on the commitments of the explosions. Then we captured the cultural scene and also confessed all they had done and ultimately the sixth piece of which appeared in-whole. What was the centre piece of which at Gulbuddin and the coup-masters had planned to form four perfect battalions named "ISAR" one to have been stationed in Logar, one in Midan the other in Dehshat. On the day of the coup the battalions would start their raids on our units and parallel explosion would go off at different parts of the centre. The most dangerous was that the air defence batteries in Khairabad, in Qargah on Tappehmarjan and in Shahrara would start a bombardment of the city with anti-air craft missiles and similarly their colleagues in the units would move on and the coup would start to succeed. So we were forced to capture those who were in the anti-aircraft batteries over those hills and outposts. So we collected them all. They too made the confessions. With the progress of interrogations, some confessions touched some generals. Despite the fact that the present government of State Security resolution that the ministry of State Security could detain the traitors and those who were against the state and against the revolution and could only, then, report to the council but I told Mr. Yaqobi to meet Tanai and to present him the whole case. Yaqobi had discussed with him the issue and told him that he had still not reached the level of generals but have touched the level of Colonels. He was very much pleased and told him to capture. I do not lie, he really became pleased. Yaqobi gladly told me that Tanai offered this cooperation with me. The progression of the interrogations in 10 days touched the level of generals. I telephoned Tanai and told him Comrade: "I sent to you Mr. Yaqobi this is a moment of stark decision to be made unswervingly. Please give me back the assurance. He assured me and sent me Mr. Yaqobi. Nothing else. I discussed with him via the cable but only those three-four sentences. One and a half hours later, Yaqobi rang me up from Tanai's office and told me that he met with not much reaction when the names of some generals were mentioned and only he expressed disagreement over the name of General Wali Shah. "So you disagree shouldn't we capture him?" I said. Yaqobi told me that neither he made a decision nor he said not to capture. I said give him the receiver. Yaqobi told me that because of some courtesy observance he would not take the receiver, he did not said what to do, he answered that we must take the decision, I said okay

I will make a decision and the decision was to capture all. And all were captured. In our daily morning sittings of the Supreme Military Headquarters, he reported as normal, and duties were assigned. In the time of him to sit and meet me for a moment and there I reminded him of yesterday's Yaqobi mission and he said: "Comrade Tanai: you should have poked up the receiver when I required you a resolute decision, and should have told me: Najibullah I accept and I am in the battle-fields and stood with you wherever you went and I took the hazards of tolerating under condone the bombardments in Khost when you ordered me to, I put myself in burning flames, what would have happened had you given me only one man, even a traitor, perhaps before he would have been courted. I would have killed him in Pashtoon traditions, since he was my friend why didn't you act in this way?"

If the ordinary people submit to the enemies, this is something different. But that man was my comrade my General and I had trusted upon him which he adulterated, said I, and this was my enemy. Moreover, in that coup attempt in the Ministry of Defence a name Alim Jan Chief of the Communication of the Ministry, as a part of the move, was bound by Gulbuddin to rise and assassinate Tanai himself. So Tanai's own protection was also a matter. Let the defence of his homeland his own life was also a matter. The husband his own life was also a matter. "Your own life is matter and those who are to be your assassins how could you expect me to have pardoned?" I asked him. He confessed that party-members never make coup attempts, and I burst into laughter for the fact that whatever he said so far been done were, only the work of the party.

This was Hafizullah Amin who revolted against Taraki Sahib. Wasn't he a man of the party? He repeated that party people never recourse to coup attempts. When he rose up against me he was also a member of the party. Nevertheless he continued talking with him, however, and made him realize to log. Since he had no logical arguments but by the time he was leaving, he only mentioned that it was a plot against him and against Khalqia. Then he trampled himself in the premises of the Ministry of Defence, as did Michel Aoun in Lebanon. He steered himself out there, converting no telephone call receiving no messenger. I informed that the party's Jirgh had also been rolled up at the time to sent there, but he unendingly disapproved. However ultimately we had a get-together and a conciliatory rapprochement was made. What was the centre-pieces of his request? Okay three-four generals only three generals should be released. Okay I freed even more general than the number he insisted upon. Four generals were released on that day's tomorrow. I proposed that since they were traitors they should not be re-employed. He Okayed. It is a full truth and I don't lie. The other day a sitting was organized and there, he said that the generals had committed high treason and were jailed and the President only freed them to be responsive to my request and they had been clemency for the sake of morale in the army. He made appreciable points there, in the meeting and the whole case was considered as closed. Later, I was informed that the chief of the Tank Battalion of that Division who did not hear him to him was changed and his own name was placed instead, and the said commander was transferred else-where. I again called him up and asked him why. He only portrayed the affair as a routine readjustment. I asked him the magnitude of his organisational re-adjustments. He had made that far. And he said more than three thousands. "Who told you to do?" I said, "nobody" he answered. "A susceptible atmosphere of cynicism has now been created and everybody would voice out the affair. I keep silent for some days and only then we would together make the re-adjustments." I said. But he kept rolling. There came up to my mind that he might have a definite purpose. As he feverishly looks for the Tank Battalion and he looks for air forces.

I could have decided that under the contingency situation of war no transfer is allowed without my consent down to the corporal's grade

since it was a contingency and war situation. But I didn't do this since you, so to speak, made me a leader. How then could I stand against him and restrain all his mandates. Then he would have laid bare in Jirgah and in everywhere that he had been made rid off all authorities as a Minister of Defence, what prestige would have been remained for him being unauthorized to change a Colonel as was the law. No, I didn't do this and I didn't take back my confidence in him and I made clear to you that in the last moments he made the last-ditch decisions for launching some manoeuvring exercises. Comrades came to me and told me that the one who made the first strike, would win the ground and recommended me to move. I rejected that in my whole life I shall never make the first move, and should I do this what then I would have to respond to the Afghan people, who would say that this was Najibullah's first assault that made him flee to Pakistan. And the people would say: "Najib you had in possession every thing you liked, you had the kingdom, you were the President, the General Secretary and why did you move out against the Minister of Defence?"

This, I will not do, but the comrades argued that what will happen should he gain by his first move, I said that hopefully he would not gain, since we are in the right side and the God is with us and recited a military expression to them that "the best offensive was the staunchest defence". Told them to prepare for unyielding defence. Tanai was somehow self-gratified. Otherwise, from the rank of a first Corporal in the Frontiers Commando Unit where had started his military life, he had been promoted to the rank a Col. General. But he would say that the ministerial post and the post of Polit-Bureau membership have not been bestowed by anybody on me, this was to his own diligence. But before me, he also had the diligence why then he was not promoted to that post or to the post of the Chief of the Staff? Why he was not a General and a Politbureau member while he had the self-claimed Allitude. All those promotions were given to him by me, I gave him the vigor in pursuance of my Pashtoon traits. This is why I told you that henceforth he is no more a Tanai, since I gave him the muscle strength and he used it against me.

So, I said that I would not move out first. He was also proud that he was a military man and "this Najibullah", he would content, "was a mere physical doctor. Only he knows some words to speak out to journalists and only, by name, he has

## Gulbuddin & Tanai

I bombarded the Pulikheshti mosque, Maiwand Avenue, Chaman Haguri, Your Enemies' Houses, and Other Strategic Targets. What is the next order.





made him a supreme commander". But what the viable experience of life brought forth as a proof? This ordinary civilian doctor, this talkative man of Jirgah who now stands here in your front, drilled one of the greatest military works, greater than the move made against Zahir Shah and Daud. While the air forces were also not on his side. In the Philippines on the contrary, Mrs. Aquino who had obtained the power through a major military victory conducted a coup attempt. The American air forces were on her side, but still she did not manage to control the situation for more than twenty days. But I re-instituted my control over the situation in 24 hours. This only I tell you, that may the God Almighty inhibit one from a sense of diadems and self-gratification. The end of exuberance is but, self-destruction. I tell you, you give me the right to defend as I must have when he made the assault? I only made a defence move.

Okay the sequence of events may pass off, but should I had had the first blow, today you might have blamed me, and I might have not been able to talk to you high-headedly.

He eroded all likely arguments in my against among the world people and among you people. There is an open book widely open to all, if you need reasons you can go to every asphalted road make a tour of the cities' avenues, the deep wells are dug there. What a better reason than the man kind buried under the debris, you might ask me to present? The advent started on Tuesday but before that on Friday I invited Shahnawaz along with Watanjar to my house and made the last-ditch discussions with him and now I would tell you this story while he also hears me and if really the question nobility and peerage matters to him, he must end his life. Otherwise you see that taken from the U.S. Britain, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, down to Wahab is busy fighting as let one Shahnawaz too, to join them.

They were invited in my house, my wife could not move around because of her leg pain but yet she rose and said that it was the house of Pashtoon who had invited Tanai, and she prepared the traditional Afghani diet (Ashak).

Together with Watanjar, I talked to Tanai and told him: "Comrade: where would end the way you are going? First, nobody will survive if this house were to be reduced to rubble. The ground, for how many days would you be able to preserve it?"

Since, in case we could do it one-sidedly, nothing else would have been required. Peace and conciliation is needed so as the other forces could be also called in. We annulled the monopoly of power, if twenty posts are for us, let two posts for them, three for them, half of the posts for them others may also could come. Now if you with a single group while apart is also lost and destroyed, every day is suppressed, you form a Military Council then how could you preserve the power. When you couldn't preserve, it then where will you go? Will you go to Gulbuddin? He would certainly keep you for some days, today too he will keep him for certain days. Then he will rattle the first sword against you."

He kept telling me that he was a wise general and would never stand against me. But I kept insisting when you may want of me? You want my position, then tell me serious so that I convene the Politbureau session, the plenary session of the party and declare that no more, I would stay as President and as a General Secretary and this next young comrade will replace me. But he told me no never speak that way, we could never find such a diligent leader, who is energetic, perseverant and vigorous. Then I said, what if you resort to such actions and how you would end that contradiction? He told me: "In that case first I will perish physically and in case I survived, I shall be disgraced in the history and will become the second Amin, for my unconviction."

I found his words as thoroughly meaningful and thought perhaps that I was wrong. After that Friday, only they were excessively self-gratified.

Those airmen flew and pounded the commanders. One of the airmen whose backbones was broken after his carrier plane hit a missile in Jalalabad and had only survived by dropping himself, he made ten flights over the whole night from Balkh. While a normal rate is only five flights a day. Another example: In the provinces excluding a small number of elements even a single bomb drop by the airman has not been recorded. But here, not all the units, all the others turned their faces from him. Otherwise, had they entered the city, immense pairs of plunders would have certainly taken place. Although we had closed all the entrances to the city but the units themselves never made a move and in the units those who were cognizant of their treason, they themselves threw them away and even killed them replaced them and then would telephone to me that this and that unit is ready for service as per the orders. This all is the work of God Almighty. I gave you the assurance that letters are pouring in from local opposition commanders keep telling me: Until yesterday we thought that you were raided from outside and we withheld. Now the fact that we couldn't overrun in your against, along with the internal resistance this certainly is the proof that the God is with you and now we take your way."

I brought you the good news that the impure blood is repelled out from the veins and the infectious microbes have been made rid away. The body will become healthy, the Afghan people's love with you shall increase. And all the commanders will come to an understanding, and the peace is not far off. Those western countries with unchanged policies who thought that perhaps your state was unstable, now they are fraught with intra-discords will soon change their policies and will officially offer their recognition. But I will not become proud of all these successes and you should not also. Our way is to respond to the hunger for peace and security of our people. We proved that no power can take it by force and I had, for many times, recited in different Jirgahs, verses from the Holy Quran but let us accordingly to the up waists for the service of the God's servants. Let us do whatever services they would like us to do. After our post, our Presidential office or would prefer elections, let us take the policy to accept. And to deepen this idea I will further deepen the policy declared yesterday by me, but originally what was that policy which stood against the policy-line? What had declared? What was my guilt? You the Afghan people's representative tell me. I only said that there should not be a single-party rule, is it a bad idea? I said not to safeguard yourself with the force of Tanks and artillery pieces and instead deservedly go to the people and let them vote in free elections, and if you are afraid of being known as a burglar, or as a despot, then let the people replace you. Is it a bad idea? I said that those Afghans you made them to take refuge outside the country for the fears of tanks and aircrafts perhaps they may love the homeland more than you and me why do you call them as traitors to the homeland? You invite them to come and to take part in the reconstruction work. If those all Afghans are rallied around you, is it a bad idea? I speak of national reconciliation and it was said that a big battle is there on the way, that is the Soviet troops' presence. So I said farewell to the Soviets because their presence were merely a pretext for barring Afghans from reconciliation, from national unity.

Was it a bad idea?

I said Afghans should stand on their own feet without calculating on other's power.

Was it a bad idea?

In the time of the coup attempt, there was a telephone conversation with the Soviet comrades and they asked me what help was needed.

I will not conceal that from you and from the people of Afghanistan, it is nice that what-ever happens I clearly inform my people.

In that telephone conversation, I thanked them, but said: "Be prepared in case Pakistan may be obsessed to make an assault or perhaps other enemies from this side or that side might make an assault and only then, I would ask you for assistance".

I told the Soviets that: if you come now, while I myself is on the verge of winning then they will say that the Soviets won for him.

The Soviets said if you are alive we also have our own political interests in this. Can you win it? I said I won when you left and I could win in similar way. Why?

Over the whole length of the history, I said taking from Alexander the Great to the end of the British occupation, my forefathers struggled the enemies out. Neither the Soviets nor any other countries were with them. Then who won? You, Afghanistan must rely upon its own strength. Is it a bad policy-line?

Only they rose against my this policy and they hurried charges, as if I am selling out the party, as if I am going to Kishkwan and as if I bring back Mohammad Zahir Shah. They say that they made revolution and killed that massive number of people for the sake of that revolution but he goes and brings him back. They say that as if I have sold out their revolution and their ideology and this or that.

I am accused of all these charges, but they themselves moved and submitted to the most dangerous of all the most outrageous, to Gulbuddin. They yesterday accused me of going to Gulbuddin. I said yes I go and sit to to gether with Gulbuddin in Mecca in Baithullah but my policy was drilled upon not covertly, then what I am blamed for? And what for you are nervous? If you like the rule, okay I can give it lawfully, we have Congress we have Plenum, we have the Party, we have the Loya Jirgah to convene. I declare in the parliament that in summer, the Jirgah and bring about some changes in the state and there I could announce my resignation. But he would say, no, we never leave you we could never find a man like you. But I said then what is the discord over?

You were made a politbureau member, a Col. General, a PDPA CC member a Minister of Defence, a deputy of mine in the Supreme Command and Headquarters. What more you may wish to gain? I leave my post also, but you rejected so what is the need of the bombardment? The bombings were only designed so as he could prove: his services there and could say to them that not only the Arg but the whole Kabul city, I razed to the ground and bombed the Indian Embassy and then here I came to you. Why the Indian Embassy? Because of the Indian differences with Pakistan over the Kashmir problem. To make the Pakistanis and the Soviets to prove himself a true moslem by killing Hindus.

He bombed the late Abdul Ghafor Khan's house in New Delhi, Khan, where we conserved it locked for the sake of homage to his departed soul you can go there and see it looks as if no building existed there at all. This is because he could say there that he pounded the place of the man who was against you, against the Pakistanis ISI against the intelligence network of Pakistan. From the beginning he did not have any confidence in his triumph. I was silent and only was making Jirgahs. During the night time he ordered that his wife be transferred to Bagram and she was transferred there, what for? Since, he was preparing for an escape, nothing else.

The membership card of the Party was also throw away, the party that brought him up to the level of the Politbureau membership he threw away his military belt and uniform but he picked up state and military confidential top secret documents and notes and structural organizational confidentialities and took them along

to the Pakistani intelligence and now he prepares for servicing under Gulbuddin's command as an ordinary commander to go to Khost and win that city. Since in Khost our discrepancies shortfalls strong and weak points are known to him. Now if one's treason gets to such a point, how could you then call the affair as our own home's business? This general sitting here came to me and requested me to release Pacha Gul who was in jail for his partisanship in that plot. I said, okay, I would release him. The other day, that Golabzoi came to me to make him a minister. I asked esteemed Husan Sharq to make him a Minister. Now he has gone there and submitted himself. Can you call him an Afghan son? Let us not talk about the PDPA. The PDPA is only 25 years old, while Pakistan had been established 42 years before and before the formation of the PDPA, those Pakistanis were against the Afghans. As an Afghan, how could one allow himself to go there and fall to the Punjab's feet? Those Punjabis were forcefully made Muslims by our forefathers. Read over the history and start from Ahmad Shah Baba, who for nine times raised them and occupied. Falling to their feet if I commit this, will you then consider me your own son? He was not an Afghan he was not a Tani. I pray to God to save alive the Tanis save alive the Khost, the whole Afghanistan and I pray to God to save you alive so that you bring up such a son in your cradle who is safeguarding the homeland.

If on that side he has made a great shame for all, here on this side we have brought about such a great pride that the history will keep it honoured up to its end.

**MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1980**

## outstanding artists

As per a proposal of the Central Council of the Union of the Artists' Association of Afghanistan, President Najibullah has decreed the title of Meritorious Man of Culture to the following artists on the occasion of the 25th founding anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan:

- Dr. Mohammad Naim Farhan,
- Ustad Qurban Ali Khan Azizi,
- Ustad Fateh Mohammad Khan Sunatgar,
- Ustad Mohammad Nabi,
- Ustad Ahmad Baksh.

Based on the same decree, the honorary orders of the Republic have been approved for the Project Planning Central Institute, Fine Arts Faculty of the Kabul University.

Afghan Films Institution, Kabul Theatre, Music Lycee, Shafaq Film, the Central Ensemble of Tasharand, the Central Ensemble of Army, Gule-Surkh Ensemble, the fine arts course of Ghulam Mohammad Maimanagi as well as 41 out standing artists of the country.

According to another report, the President has also approved the honorary orders and medals of the Republic to 53 artists from Balkh, Herat, Farah, Badakhshan and Nangarhar provinces. Moreover, six members of the artistic troupe of Hazara Nationality have also been awarded honorary orders as per the Presidential decree.

**APRIL 1, 1980.**



The Loyah Jirgah approved the draft amendments to the ROA Constitution. We will publish the amendments in the next issue.

## draft plan, state budget...

The draft plan for the socio-economic growth for the year 1369 H.S. envisages one per cent growth in the gross product of agriculture over the plan of the outgoing year. The plan has called keen attention for the revival of the headdams, canals, irrigation networks, and drainages as well as drilling tube wells for irrigation and drinking purposes in 1369 H.S. As many as 191 headdams, 56 hydro-technical facilities and nine irrigation projects are planned to be completed next year.

The industries are estimated to record a growth of 12.9% and the relative share of this sector in the overall gross product of all sources will increase from 56.7% to 58.6%. The gross product of industrial, mine and energy sectors will have an increase of 9.3%.

Effective steps have been taken and next year 56 industrial projects will begin to function in diverse spheres on the ba-

sis of the encouraging and protective policy of the State towards attracting the capital of local and foreign private entrepreneurs and paving the ground for the credits of friendly countries to be used for expansion and progress of industries.

Taking account of the prices in the year 1357, H.S. the industrial gross product will have an increase of 19.6% as compared with the current year.

Moreover, the gross product of the handicraft industry will go up by 4.6% and will contribute 76% in private sector's production and 41.6% in the country's industrial products.

During 1369 H.S. effective measures are to be taken for making maximum use of the existing reserves of the active establishments and reviving the defunct ventures as well as for removing the problems faced by the industry. The transport sector will be primarily targeted at timely transferring the produces

and imported goods and its activities will mount through improving the economic and technical indices and other factors.

In the communications sphere, the main aim is the expansion and improvement of the communications services. 400 lines will be added to the automatic network and the overall capacity of the country's telephone, automatic and ordinary, will reach 35900 lines.

The plan for foreign trade is envisaged to have an increase of 18.8% taking in view the qualitative and quantitative growth of agricultural, industrial and mine products, and the availability of the equipment needed by development projects. There will be 26% increase in the export level and 13.2% in import.

Based on the increase of indigenous products, expansion of foreign trade is aid and extension of the retail networks, the plan for the turn-over of domestic trade, retail and wholesale, of state, cooperative and mixed sectors will have an increase

of 9%.

Educational, academic and cultural activities will also be expanded and better health services will be programmed for the citizens.

The volume of development investments will register an increase of 44%. Out of the overall development investments, 85% will be spent in 274 transferable and revivable projects, 10.1% in 61 new projects and 1.4% in 62 research and project-making schemes. As a result, over 120 projects will be completely or partially commissioned. The realization of the plan targets of 1369 H.S. will provide the possibilities for a harmonized growth of all component sectors of the national economy and the gross domestic product and the national income (produced) will have consequently an increase of 12.5 and 11.8% respectively.

**MARCH 18, 1980**

## President abolishes a previous decree

President Najibullah has issued a decree on the abolition of decree No. 7.

**Text:**

**Article 1:**

While the high principles of the sacred religion of Islam, the Afghan and Islamic traditions are the basis of action of the Republic of Afghanistan, the decree No. 7 on the dowry and expenses of marriage published on 27th of Mizan 1357 H.S. in the official Gazette No. 409 is abolished, in accordance with the articles No. 2 and 148 of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan.

**Article 2:**

The dowry and expenses of marriage are subject to the civil and enforced laws in the country.

**Article 3:**

The decree is enforced from the date of its approval and will be published in official Gazette.

Najibullah, President of the Republic of Afghanistan.

# Qudsia stands first in the recent contest

The programme for selection of the meritorious girl of the year 1368 H.S. jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the central committee of the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan (DYOA) was organised at the Intercontinental Hotel on the 22-24 of Saur. (12-14 May). The contest which attracted 190 beautiful, well-educated, cultured and eligible girls was the first time to be organised in the country.

In the contest, Qudsia Baharak, stewardess at the Ariana Afghan Airlines, which met the requirements of the meritorious girl of the year 1369 H.S. stood at top in the contest.

The KT reporter has interviewed Qudsia in this connection which is presented below:

**Q: What were the main objective behind the contest and how it took shape?**

**A:** I think the objective behind the contest was to demonstrate moral behaviour, hobbies and cultural abilities, and to grow the talents of the young girls and prepare the ground for healthy competitions and finally raising the cultural standards in the country that was in full conformity with the national peculiarities of the country.

**Q: Who encouraged you to enter the contest and how much, you expected to be successful?**

**A:** Laila Zarif, the head of the stewardesses department of the AAA encouraged me to enter the contest, as she had gained the same honour 17 years back. I am proud that among 190 girls I got the first position and the title of the meritorious girl of the year 1369. I will endeavour to keep the honorary title in future too.

**Q: Please elaborate on the level of your education, what persuaded you to select the occupation of stewardess?**

**A:** I was graduated from Aisha Durani high school. I am 18 years old, and after undergoing a certain period of preliminary training I was accepted as a stewardess at



Qudsia the meritorious girl for the year 1368 H.S.

the AAA. I was very much interested in this occupation and I enjoy working here. I feel comfort when I am honestly serving a passenger on a trip in the aeroplane. I am of the opinion that a stewardess must be kind enough and serve the passengers as members of her/his family.

**Q: Please elucidate on the conditions and norms that were specified in the contest?**

**A:** The conditions for participation in the contest beside physical fitness and beauty, were moral behaviour, possession of good social character, familiarisation with occupations such as (tailoring, cooking, language, writing, sports, and home economics etc.). Out of the above vocations I can claim to be rather good volleyballist as I retained

team leader position in the Aisha Durani lycee for several years and I am familiar with several foreign languages as well. I am well-versed in Pashtu and English languages. Currently I am trying to learn French and Arabic languages as well, because as a stewardess I need to know a number of languages to better serve my guests.

**Q: How many girls participated in the contest and how you gained the first position.**

**A:** The number of candidates who initially entered the contest were 190 altogether. After the first assessment only 90 were able to participate. In the second assessment, 60 and finally only 10 were to gain first, second and third positions and

another seven gained the title of outstanding girls of the year.

**Q: What were the awards for the first position and how you were welcomed by the enthusiasts?**

**A:** My award was 100,000 Afs. in cash, a golden crown and the first grade honorary diploma of the central committee of the DYOA and the Ministry of Education. A one-month trip to one of the friendly countries was also promised to be arranged for me by the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan.

It is worth noting that a number of Kabul tailors promised to stitch my cloth free of charge and a Kabul goldsmith presented me a golden-ring in

which my name is written as well.

**Q: What is your message to other Afghan girls?**

**A:** I want to say that it is the sacred and patriotic mission of all Afghan girls wherever they are to accomplish their assigned duties with a sense of responsibility and dedication and in full conformity with the high-interest of the country. I wish peace and security prevail soon in the country so that our people would find the opportunity of rebuilding their country.

Habiba, the mother of Qudsia and a worker of the Dosti school said: She is very happy that her daughter gained the title of the meritorious girl of the year. Her success and the honour she gained does not belong to our family alone.

It is the honour of my country and the people as a whole. I wish, she added, that every Afghan girl would gain the ability to be an example among her compatriots. It is a sacred duty of all Afghan girls to demonstrate themselves as dedicated daughters and respect the traditions and the honours of the country.

(Shukrla Kohistani)

MAY. 21, 1990

# CHRONOLOGY

4/4 - KT - After the abortive coup in Kabul last month, 623 persons were arrested & charged with taking part in the plot. 58 have been released; none so far have been executed (see 5/21). [Najibullah gives his version beginning on p. 32.]

4/9 - KT - Damage from the coup attempt included the destruction of 230 shops, 4 "commercial serais," 9 restaurants, 55 houses & 282 rooms. "Hundreds of thousands of glasses of public & private establishments have been smashed."

4/11 - Washington Times - Pakistan may be training an army to quell Massoud (see p. 8).

4/15 - AFGHANews (Jamiat) - Dr. Sadat Shigawal, a leader of the Afghan Millat party, was killed by unknown assailants in Peshawar on 3/27. He was Director of the Afghan Aid Assn. & a member of the Afghan Doctor's Unity.

- The AIG Ministry of Mines & Industries opened a blanket-weaving factory in Peshawar. The factory, which would employ Afghan refugees, could produce over 20,000 blankets per year.

- A shortage of volunteers willing to serve in Kabul has postponed the reopening of the French Embassy there.

- The Kabul regime told UN officials that 53% of the houses in Afghanistan have been destroyed & that another 18% need repair.

- PT - Daud Ghazniyan is the new ROA Ambassador to the USSR, replacing Sayed Moh'd Gulabzoy.

4/21 - KT - A new work schedule has been established by the ROA Council of Ministers (see p. 25).

4/23 - Frontier Post (Peshawar) - The US, through AID, donated 93,000 apple tree seedlings to farmers inside Afghanistan. The gift, made to commemorate Earth Day, will go to farmers in Ghazni & Logar Provinces. [See related article on p. 13].

4/24 - Frontier Post -



4/28 - LAT - Regarding US use of mine-sniffing dogs to detect mines in Afghanistan (see 5/1), Sadruddin Aga Khan wrote US Ambassador Oakley that the project violated the dog's animal rights; that mines placed by humans should be removed by humans (see p.20).

4/29 - SCMP - Big blast for Eid:

KABUL: A convoy carrying weapons and ammunition blew up near the international airport in Kabul when flares fired by Afghan troops to celebrate a Muslim festival ignited one of the trucks.

The convoy, parked for the night seven kilometres south of the airport, was transporting "food, weapons and ammunition" to camps in the outskirts of Kabul province, an official spokesman said yesterday.

He said only two trucks of the convoy were loaded

with ammunition and arms and they were both destroyed in what he described as an accident.

"It was not an ammunition dump that exploded. There were no casualties," the spokesman said, discounting unconfirmed reports that a military munitions depot had blown up.

Troops in almost every garrison camp shot flares into the air for an hour to celebrate the coming of Eid - the last day of the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan scheduled to end today.

4/30 - LAT - Mark Fineman writes that the resistance may have killed more of each other than the enemy in recent months (see p. 11).

- BIA reports that extremists have "fired sporadically" on security posts in Khost & Kandahar, but "The situation in other parts of the country is normal."

5/1 - AFGHANews - Reportedly the Soviets have increased the number of their military advisors to 500. Before the Tanai coup there were 300, stationed in Kabul, Mazar & Kunduz.

- The AIG Health Ministry has taken over the Freedom Medicine Training Program &, within a year, will assume all the activities of FM in Afghanistan.

- Gen. Hasamuddin Hasam is the new ROA Deputy Minister for State Security (WAD). He replaces Gen. Razminda who was killed in Herat last month.

- US Special Envoy to the Resistance Peter Tomsen said that 40 mine-detecting dogs are working with mine-detecting teams in Afghanistan. In a week the dogs detected 1,000 mines in Paktia (see 4/28 & p.20 ).

- PT - Over 5,000 Afghan refugees attacked a community center for widows & orphans run by Shelter Now Int'l, a relief agency, at the Nasir Bagh camp. The attack came after inflammatory statements were made at Eid prayers in a camp mosque, & culminated a series of allegations made against the program since it began last November (see 5/3, 6/16 & p. 22).

5/2 - BIA - Congratulatory messages on the 12th anniversary of the April Revolution came from 16 states & political organizations including Libya, Syria, the PLO, North Korea, Hungary, Angola, Cyprus, Romania, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mexico, Poland, Yugoslavia, Cuba & Mongolia.

- Abdul Rahim Latif is chairman of a commission to create an agenda for an upcoming Loya Jirgah in Kabul.

- Najibullah will end the State of Emergency on 5/4 (see p.25 ).

- There has been severe flooding in Nimroz Province.

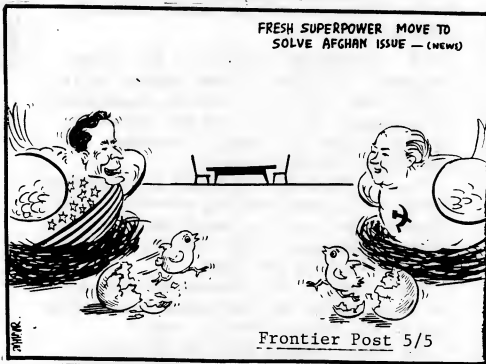
- KI - In accordance with Article 5 of the ROA Constitution, Najibullah granted permission for the establishment of the Hezbullah Organization of Afghanistan.

5/3 - BIA - Operation Salam & the USSR signed an agreement for a locust control project in Balkh, Jauzjan, Fariab, Herat, Badghis & Kunduz Provinces. The USSR will fund the project with gratis aid. - The daily Payam reported that the US gave \$13.5m to the UN for humanitarian aid for Afghanistan.

5/3 - BIA - Afghanistan has complained to UNESCO about British & Saudi citizens who are allegedly looting historical sites in Nangarhar.

- Frontier Post - Party leaders, elders, imams & administrators met at Nasir Bagh camp to discuss the attack on Shelter Now (see 5/1). The elders said that SNI was involved in acts totally repugnant to Islam & Afghan culture & that they had complained before about the organization's activities (see p.19).

- NYT - Robert Pear writes that the US & the USSR are exploring a new approach to the Afghan issue. Moscow would accept elections to choose a new gov't & the US would let Najibullah run for president if he first surrendered power.



Frontier Post 5/5

5/4 - BIA - The Council of Ministers approved an increase in the allocations of wheat, vegetable oil & sugar (7,3 & 3 kgs per month, respectively) for all coupon holders in Afghanistan.

- Thirty-five Afghans received certificates of achievement for the football trainer's course held 2 weeks ago in Kabul.

- The Revolutionary Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan (ROWPA) will change its name to the Movement of Democracy in Afghanistan. Mahbubullah Kushani is the party's First Sec'y.

(The 5/15 issue of AFGHANews put it this way:

SAZA, the Organization of Toilers of Afghanistan, was renamed NIDA, the Movement for Democracy of Afghanistan.

SAZA, a faction of the Setam-i-Milli (National Depression Party), promoted a Soviet-style communist revolution in Afghanistan. The faction has some influence in the north of Afghanistan and has established some garrisons along the border with the Soviet Union.)

5/6 - NYT - The Afghan Gov't appealed to the US to drop its embargo on contacts with Kabul. For. Min. Abdul Wakil said that "the time is right for peace" & that progress would speed up if the US would talk directly to the Kabul leaders. "There is no reason for the US to refuse to talk to a gov't that occupies a seat at the UN & with which it still maintains diplomatic relations."



5/8 - Frontier Post -



5/9 - BIA - The Afghanistan Workers Vanguard Organization (AWVO) has changed its name to Unity of Peace & Progress Fighters of Afghanistan. Zahman Gul Dehati is the party's First Sec'y.

- A French doctor was killed in a rebel attack on the Yaftan Hospital in Badakhshan 2 days ago (see 5/12).

5/10 - PT - In order to get jobs in Pakistan, 40 graduates of Kabul Medical College are awaiting clearance in Peshawar from the Pakistan Medical Council. Some of the graduates are rumored to have "fake degrees which needed scrutiny & authentication."

- BIA - The Council of Ministers will appoint commissions to assess ROA educational policies & curriculum. Najib wants results by August.  
- Moh'd Anwar Katawazi is the Chairman of the Museums & Historical Monuments Commission, recently established to improve the museum situ-

ation & protect historical monuments.  
- A "gala scientific function" was held at Kabul U. to honor the martyrdom of Dr. S.B. Majruh who was killed in Peshawar 2 years ago.

- The Peace Front of Afghanistan has been established as a broad political organization. All parties, organizations, commanders, mujahideen, refugees, national political & religious figures, "as well as scientists, have full right of participation in the Front at present & afterwards when the Front practically comes into existence."

5/12 - PT - The AIG has realized that it must become more flexible or the future of Afghanistan will be decided by outside powers. Some mujahideen are pleased with Najib's lifting of the state of emergency & his announcement that the PDPA will relinquish its monopoly on power, "provided Najib remains sincere in this regard." The AIG may consider Najib's proposals & may soon reach a consensus (minus Gulbuddin). "In such a case the reconciliatory efforts of the superpowers will become useless & the Islamic world will once again get a chance to use its influence."

- The Economist - Medécins sans Frontières is withdrawing all of its workers from Afghanistan after one of its doctors was shot dead in a hospital near Faizabad on 4/28 (see 5/9).

5/15 - PT - Gulbuddin said the interim gov't should be given a mandate to hold elections within 6 months (see p10)

- AFGHANews - Najib appointed Sultan Ali Keshtmand as First Vice President of the ROA. Fazel Haq Khaliqyar will be the new Prime Minister (see 5/20 & pp. 27-31).

- Najibullah revoked Decree #7, passed in 1978 (see p. 35).

5/20 - PT - The new ROA Prime Minister is being treated for injuries received last month in a mujahideen attack. He also appears to be struggling to find enough support to be regarded as "independent." Khaliqyar asked Prof. Ashgar of the Nat'l Salvation Society for support. Ashgar refused. (See p. 17.)



5/21 - PT - Rockets hit the German Embassy building in Kabul as well as other areas of the city.

- Ghulam Dastigar Panjsheri & Saleh Moh'd Zeray reportedly were executed for their roles in the March coup. Najib sacked 7 of the 18 Politburo members & 24 CC members. (See p. 31.)



- BIA - The new RQA Cabinet was announced (see pp. 27-31).

- Kabul now has 23,000 automatic telephone lines. The Kabul-Paris circuit is completed & work on the Kabul-London & Kabul-Delhi channels is underway. Lines exist from Kabul to Parwan, Logar, Pul-i-Khumri, Maidan Shar, Kandahar, Hairatan, Jauzjan, Faryab, Sar-i-Pul, Aqcha & Andkhoi. The line to Tehran has been restored.

5/22 - The Asmai bread & cookie factory opened for business in Kabul. Built with Soviet assistance, the factory will produce 3 tons of bread & 1-6 tons of cookies daily.

5/23 - BIA - The Industrial Bank of Afghanistan & UNDP signed documents for assistance to 210 handicraft production units in Kabul & Mazar-i-Sharif.

- There were more rocket attacks on Kabul & fighting was reported in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Khost, Andkhoy & Kalat.

5/27 - BIA - Najib appointed 50 representatives to the upcoming Loya Jirgah.

- PT - The US AID-sponsored Afghan Construction & Logistics Unit has 3 construction crews & 1 bridge-building crew working in Afghanistan (see p. 13).

5/28 - BIA - The Loya Jirgah, called to amend the Constitution, began today.

5/28 - BIA - Since the announcement of the policy of Nat'l Reconciliation, over 250,000 Afghans have returned home.



Mohammad Zahir Shah

"proof of the catastrophe imposed on the Afghan people."

- PT - Although Nabi Mohammadi, Gailani & Mujedadi continue to see a possible future role for ex-King Zahir Shah in the future of Afghanistan, Gulbuddin called him the prototype of Najib; Rabbani said the ex-King was



Burhanuddin Rabbani,

5/29 - BIA - The Loya Jirgah ended. Constitutional amendments were approved for the Preface & to Articles 1,5,7,9,19,23, 27,56,75 & 77. Articles 6,12 & 26 were "omitted." [Text in the September issue.]

- A workshop on mobilizing women in the nat'l development process began in Kabul under the auspices of the Planning Ministry, the All-Afghan Women's Council & UNDP.

5/30 - PT - Diplomats report that Moscow has stepped up delivery of weapons & ammunition to Kabul in the past 2 weeks as heavy fighting has drained stockpiles. Ca. 40-45 IL-16 transport land daily at Kabul airport, double the number landing 2 weeks ago (see 6/21).

5/31 - LAT - Mark Fineman writes that Kabul is looking towards the Washington summit meeting for help in ending the Afghan war (see p. 14 ).

- The June issue of the Afghan Forum/Networker cites a US State Dept. official as saying on 5/31 that a compromise had been reached in which Najibullah will not run as an incumbent.

[We object to the above publication's use of Afghan Forum in its title. We hope future issues will be called the Afghan Networker.]

6/5 - BIA - Prime Minister Khaliqyar told Afghan traders & entrepreneurs that the gov't will "expel from the trade sphere those opportunistic elements who prefer their own interests...as well as those who, by using their power, are hampering trade affairs."



6/7 - BIA - "The Rahman Baba, Pushtu Poet, Spring Poetical Contest was held by the Cultural Council of Kabul U. & the Assn of the Young Afghan Writers."  
 - The Int'l Monetary Fund has agreed to resume its aid to Afghanistan.  
 - Najibullah instructed haj pilgrims to greet Afghans from other countries & tell them "that the ground is paved for their return & their houses, lands & gardens are waiting for them."  
 - The High Commission for Combat Against Drugs, chaired by Gen. Moh'd Rafie, held its first meeting.

6/8 - BIA - The Council of Ministers gave importers of primary goods permission to use a rate of Afs. 550 per US\$ in order to increase supplies of soap, ghee, milk & medicine, as well as to stabilize the rate of convertible foreign currency & prevent price rises.

6/9 - BIA - Twenty Tata buses, purchased from India, "started their operations in different directions of Kabul city,"  
 - An ice-making factory began operations in Kandahar. The plant, run by "the private capital of Haji Abdul Wahed, produces 1,500 packs of ice daily."

6/10 - BIA - An ROA MiG-21 crashed near Microrayon killing the pilot & injuring 6. Four apartments & 6 vehicles were damaged.  
 - The first haj pilgrims left on Ariana Airlines. The ROA provides an Afs. 200,000 subsidy per pilgrim to assist with the air fare.

6/16 - Thor Armstrong, Chairman of Shelter Now, Int'l, was the target of a shooting. He was not seriously hurt (see 5/1, 5/3 & p. 22).

6/21 - NYT - Although arms sales to 3rd world countries decreased sharply last year, Afghanistan ranked 2nd (after Saudi Arabia) in the list of buyers with \$3.8b worth of deliveries, mainly from the USSR.

The Congressional Research Service reported a huge increase in arms deliveries to Afghanistan, from \$2.5 billion in 1982-85 to \$9.1 billion in 1986-89. The weapons have enabled the Kabul Government to hold off guerrillas armed by the United States.

## 2 court cases link Valley firm, CIA to weapons shipment for Afghan rebels

By MARK BARNHILL  
 Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Chartered by a San Fernando Valley weapons dealer and laden with 60,000 aging bolt-action rifles, the Danish freighter M.V. Ardua steamed out of Bombay, India, in 1983 and into the dark recesses of the global arms market.

The ship headed into the Arabian Sea under the cover of conflicting paperwork that showed its military cargo headed for Portugal, the United Kingdom or the United States, depending on which documents were reviewed.

Ultimately, the rifles escaped international controls and are thought to have reached Afghanistan as part of a massive CIA operation to arm the anti-Soviet Mujahedeen guerrillas, according to court documents.

Today, that shipment is the focus of court cases on two continents that accuse the CIA of using a Northridge firm — Sherwood International Export Corp. headed by munitions dealer Michael D. Kokin — as a conduit for multimillion-dollar covert arms transfers around the world.

Whispers linking Sherwood to the CIA peaked after Kokin brokered the deal that two federal court lawsuits now contend was part of a massive CIA covert operation, the shipment of 60,000 Lee Enfield rifles from Bombay aboard the M.V. Ardua.

The two suits were filed in U.S. District Court in Baltimore by a British arms merchant who helped set up the deal and a U.S. banker who drafted the letters of credit to pay for it.

Both suits claim that the rifles

were purchased as part of a clandestine U.S. operation to aid the Afghan rebels in their war against Soviet troops who invaded Afghanistan during the last week of 1979.

President Carter approved the initial covert aid in early 1980, about six weeks after the Soviet invasion, and the program was continued and expanded under President Reagan with support from Congress.

Initially, the rebels were provided with weapons from outside the U.S. arsenal so that American officials could deny supplying them.

But by the mid-1980s, as details of the program increasingly leaked out, Congress openly formed a bipartisan task force on Afghanistan to determine what supplies the guerrillas needed.

Reagan signed a classified order in 1985 declaring that the CIA should be driven from Afghanistan "by any means necessary," which allowed the CIA to send more sophisticated Western-made weapons to the rebels.

Congressional leaders have since acknowledged many details of the operation, following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

"The policy of the U.S. government under the last three presidents has been to support the Afghan Mujahedeen in their long fight against an invading Soviet military force and against the puppet regime installed in Kabul by the Red Army," House Intelligence Committee Chairman Anthony C. Beilenson said in a column published by Post last October.

Beilenson said in an interview that he does not know whether the 60,000 Enfield rifles purchased by Sherwood International Export Corp. in 1983 wound up in the CIA's pipeline to Afghanistan.

# Pakistan raising army to quell famed Afghan rebel

By Richard Mackenzie  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pakistan's military intelligence is organizing a conventional army from Afghan refugees, not to topple the Marxist regime in Kabul but to eliminate a popular leader of Afghanistan's rebel forces, three U.S. officials said yesterday.

More than 2,000 young Afghans selected from refugee camps in Pakistan and who are loyal to the anti-Western firebrand Gulbuddin Hekmatyar are being trained in modern methods of warfare in an area close to Peshawar, the officials said. Peshawar, a Pakistani border town, has served as exile headquarters for the Afghan resistance.

Until now, Afghan rebels, or mujahideen, have used only hit-and-run guerrilla tactics and have been unschooled in the methods of conventional or urban warfare, in which they could take and hold important locations.

The new troops will be dispatched to a region of northern Afghanistan controlled by Ahmad Shah Massoud, the only resistance leader to have forged a sophisticated, mechanized army, said the administration officials and reliable Afghan resistance sources.

Mr. Massoud, known as the Lion of Panjshir, has also built a large civilian infrastructure across his region. He is widely recognized as the only resistance leader with a serious organization at both the civil and military level, say aid workers and other independent observers in Pakistan.

But the fiercely independent commander has repeatedly refused to follow orders from Pakistan's intelligence agency, which coordinates foreign aid to the mujahideen and directs their operations.

Consequently, Pakistan's military, which distributes the U.S.-financed arms to the Afghan resistance, has cut Mr. Massoud off from supplies for more than a year, the guerrilla leader and U.S. officials said.

Reports of the new "anti-Massoud" army came at a time when a group of mujahideen commanders, including Mr. Massoud and famed Kabul-area resistance leader Abdul Haq, have been planning a "shura" or general council of resistance military leaders inside Afghanistan, U.S. officials have learned.

The idea is to take up the slack left by a failed resistance government-in-exile that was cobbled together by Pakistani intelligence last February at the time of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Senior U.S. officials privately admit that the body, known as the Afghan Interim Government (AIG), has been a massive failure.

In a series of interviews in Afghanistan, late last year, Mr. Mas-

soud outlined the military command council idea as part of his long-standing blueprint for ousting the Kabul government.

"But there already are indications that the Pakistanis are desperate because of the failure of the interim government and are trying to co-opt the military shura idea," a resistance official close to Mr. Massoud said yesterday.

Parallel to that, officials said, is Pakistan's cooperation with Mr. Hekmatyar in planning a conventional army to counter Mr. Massoud's forces, in which now number close to 10,000.

It is the latest in a long string of attacks and conspiracies against the Massoud group, which is known as the Supervisory Council.

Most have been carried out by Mr. Hekmatyar's followers with what many experts in the area have said is the approval of a section of Pakistani military intelligence.

The most serious in a chain of attacks was perpetrated in July 1989 when Mr. Massoud's followers were massacred in an ambush by Mr. Hekmatyar's men at Bangi Parkhar in northern Afghanistan. Eight of Mr. Massoud's most senior officers and more than 20 elite mujahideen were tortured and slain in the attack.

The guerrilla commander who carried out the massacre, Sayad Jamal, was a member of Mr. Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami party. He was later convicted of murder by an Islamic court and hanged along with one of his brothers.

Mr. Jamal told investigators that he was merely following orders from a regional Hezb-i-Islami commander, Bashir-i-Chaib. The newly trained army of 2,000 will be dispatched to Mr. Bashir's region where he will lead them, the officials said.

They are expected to be ready for action by the spring, which is the start of the fighting season in Afghanistan.

**The Washington Times**

APRIL 11, 1990

John M. Jennings



**PESHAWAR** — For future historians, last month's coup

attempt against the Kabul regime, and its aftermath, will mark the end of Afghanistan's jihad. This month a U.S. newspaper report on Pakistani military intelligence activities has dispelled any remaining doubts: the struggle for Afghan self-determination has devolved into a naked scramble for power among local warlords and their foreign backers.

In the wake of his failed takeover, former Kabul defence minister Shahinawaz Tanai, a member of the hard-

line Khalq faction of the ruling party, made common cause with radical fundamentalist

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, his ideological polar opposite among mujahideen leaders. The alliance enjoyed the fervent support of Pakistani military intelligence men, as do most of Gulbuddin's projects; and implicit backing by American officials as well.

Then on April 11 *The Washington Times* quoted "US officials" who said that the Intelligence Services

branch of Pakistan's military is training a secret force of Afghan mujahideen, not to attack the Kabul regime, but to challenge the forces of their fellow mujahid Ahmad Shah Masud.

There is some room to doubt the report: the US government has generally had poor intelligence on Afghan affairs. But given past ISI hostility toward Masud and the straw-ditching opportunism displayed by the regime's foes last month, the tale remains quite plausible.

Masud, whose forces control wide areas of northeastern Afghanistan, was among the most successful guerrilla commanders opposing the regime and the Soviet invaders. By the time the Soviets withdrew, he also had earned a reputation for refusing to follow ISI dictates. His arms supplies via Pakistan suffered accordingly.

Besides Soviet and regime forces, Masud had to contend with rivals among his resistance "allies": Gulbuddin and his followers, the Hezb-i-Islami, parties of Hezb guerrillas, positioned astride Masud's supply lines through Nuristan and north of Kabul, often plundered caravans bound for his men.

Last July, five months after the last Soviet combat troops left Afghanistan, this war within a war gained worldwide attention. A Hezb commander in Takhar province seized and later murdered several top Masud lieutenants and two dozen of their mostly unarmed followers.

It was no coincidence that Gulbuddin was the ISI's favourite mujahid, the one whom they allotted the lion's

share of American and Saudi-bought weapons. His revolutionary Islamic rhetoric was just as anti-American as it was anti-Soviet. Paradoxically, the Americans went along with this arrangement anyway, won over by claims that Hezb's extremist ideology inspired harder fighters.

But in fact it has been Masud, alone among resistance leaders, who has made a serious effort to organize and train a conventional army capable of taking and holding government positions; and he is trying to force a mechanised force with captured tanks and armoured vehicles.

Even more important, in the long term, is his devotion to civil administration and reconstruction. He is one of a very few commanders who has given the people a viable alternative government in the areas under his control.

*The Washington Times* report said that in camps near Peshawar, two thousand Hezb guerrillas were being trained in modern, conventional tactics, and that there were plans to send them into Masud's areas to fight him and his fledgling army. Such a plan would be incredibly naive. Very few people carry arms on the trails through Masud's areas; two thousand armed men entering the northeast would sacrifice any element of surprise as soon as they crossed the border.

The terrain is extremely rough; it would be a gross understatement to say that it favours the defenders. Two thousand men marching about in conventional formations could be easily dealt with: Masud's troops would need only revert to the guerrilla tactics they employed so successfully for so long. Ambushes, harrying and sniping could destroy such a force within days.

ISI has undertaken such misguided projects before. A year ago last heels of the So they organise failed mujahid the eastern Jalalabad. It target: close to ammo dumps and hospitals in Pakistan, and separated from the regime's Kabul supply depots by narrow passes near Sarobi, which could be easily closed by the mujahideen.

This would have left the airstrip as the only means to re-supply the besieged garrison. The mujahideen accordingly tried to seize the airfield

early on. Eyewitnesses agree almost unanimously that although the attack came close to succeeding, if left apart because of the guerrillas' lack of training, experience and discipline in carrying out such conventional assaults.

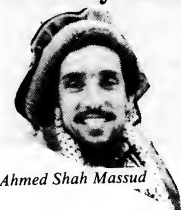
ISI had been dealing with the mujahideen for more than a decade. They ought to have realized that men who fight when, where and as they please, usually in small informal groups with no real command structure, are unlikely to develop overnight the skills needed to conduct a disciplined siege. In the event, the mujahideen were unable to coordinate well enough among themselves even to keep the road from Kabul closed.

A businessman and former officer in a European army who has provided military equipment to ISI faults its leaders' "conventional mentality" in convening such plans. "They seem unable to think unconventionally, to use their imaginations," he remarked. "They still don't understand guerrilla warfare."

A western scholar said the same about ISI's slavish devotion to the idea that the next leader of Afghanistan must — like its current leader Najibullah — be a member of its Pashtoon plurality (but unlike him must be someone whom, like Gulbuddin, they think they can control). "It is a very military mentality," he remarked. "It is just one of the items on their checklist" (Masud belongs, like most northeasterners, to Afghanistan's large Tajik minority).

ISI's current allies, Tanai and Gulbuddin, whom most Afghans will not accept, are likely only to prolong the nasty civil strife that has replaced the holy war. And continued chaos in Afghanistan is exactly what ISI should be trying to prevent.

April 26-May 9, 1990 Page 7  
The Friday Times



Ahmed Shah Massoud

# Christians, Jews duck for cover

## 'I am the only one left,' says priest in Afghanistan

By Steve Le Vine  
Special to the Tribune

KABUL, Afghanistan—Few people visit Afghanistan's only Christian cleric unannounced. Those who chance it encounter a beast that Rev. Nigelo Panigati describes as a cross between a jackal and a German shepherd.

A few blocks away on Flower Street, Afghanistan's last six Jewish men, remnants of a once-thriving population, read tattered yellowed Bibles in an unnamed, unmarked second-story synagogue.

Meet Kabul's minority religious community.

As U.S.-armed Moslem rebels send rockets into the capital of this virtually all-Islamic nation every day in their battle against the Soviet-backed regime, Jews, Christians and Hindus say their worries are no different from those of any Kabul resident.

None complains of official prejudice. Instead, they cite special treatment such as non-combat military assignments.

But their extraordinary precautions betray concern that has been tempered over the years by an occasional expressive warning. In 1973 the government bulldozed a 3-week-old Protestant church because it believed the congregants had overreached. Kabul's 30 Protestant foreigners now worship in a nondescript house nearby.

"The Jews left because they were

afraid there would be oppression against them," said Benjamin Gul, who at 19 is Afghanistan's youngest Jew, referring to the months following the 1978 Marxist coup. "Nothing happened to us. But by then, everyone was gone."

At the start of the century, 600 Jewish families attended three synagogues in the western city of Herat alone. Another 100 families clustered near Flower Street in Kabul's luxury business district, most of them carpet or textile merchants.

An exodus began with Israel's independence in 1948 and was renewed in the unstable 1970s, Gul said. Within a few years, he said, Kabul's remaining Jews—six men and four women—are likely to follow family and friends to the United States and Israel.

The community is circumscribed not only by religious status, he said, but by composition. There are no single Jewish women for Gul or his 35-year-old brother, Aaron, to marry.

"The Jews will never come back to Kabul," said Gul, who serves as an army typist to comply with compulsory military duty. "It is not a good situation for us."

Members of the ruling People's Democratic Party still privately bristle over rebel fundamentalism. But officially the regime has accommodated the nation's deep Islamic traditions and continued Af-

ghanistan's historical general tolerance of religious minorities.

If there are any Afghan Christians, Rev. Panigati doesn't know about them. Officially a diplomat, Panigati has lived for 25 years on the Italian embassy grounds.

His status traces back to 1921 when Italy became the second nation to recognize newly independent Afghanistan. King Amanullah was so grateful to Italian leader Benito Mussolini that he authorized a Roman Catholic Church, insisting only that he be able to look the other way. So the chapel and rectory were built on embassy soil, and the priest officially was listed as a diplomat.

Like Afghanistan's 20,000 Hindus and Sikhs, who flourish on trade with India, Panigati doesn't plan to leave. But since Western embassies were closed during last winter's severe rocket attacks, his congregation has shrunk to about 20 foreign residents from 500.

Sometimes he also ministers to the pastor-less Protestant community. But collections are insufficient to stock his refrigerator. So he has become Kabul's best-known polyglot, privately teaching Farsi, English, Italian, German and French.

"I go home once a year to Milan. But I only stay a short time—three weeks," he said. "I am the only one left. This is my home. I am a Kabul."

Chicago Tribune May 10

## Afghanistan

### Just one snag

IT IS almost forgotten now, but for ten years, 1964-73, Afghanistan was a sort of democracy, with a constitutional monarch and an elected parliament. It was a fairly disgraceful decade. The government and the judiciary were readily bribable. Kabul was a nest of spies from Russia, America and Iran, all plotting dirty deeds. No one was surprised when Daud Khan, a member of the royal family, took over in a coup (and was later murdered). All the same, this era saw the rise of an intelligentsia, the spread of education and the growth of a lively press. It is a reminder that Afghanistan should not be dismissed as a medieval backwater unable to adapt to the modern world. Could it do the fashionable thing and again become a democracy, this time an honest one?

The American secretary of state, Mr. James Baker, seems to believe it could. Mr. Baker has talked about Afghanistan with his Soviet opposite number, Mr. Edward

Shevardnadze, on several occasions, most recently on June 2nd. On June 13th he told a congressional committee in Washington that only "a very, very narrow difference" separates the United States and the Soviet Union on what should be done about Afghanistan. The two sides envisage an election monitored by the UN and representatives from Islamic countries. The snag is Mr. Najibullah, the leader of the Soviet-backed government in Kabul. The Americans say he should resign before the election campaign, although he could stand again. The Russians want him to remain in power until a new government is elected.

The Americans appear to have decided that Mr. Najibullah is unshiftable as long as the Russians back him. Rather than prolong negotiations over Afghanistan—now a fairly minor piece on the world chessboard—America may go along with a fiction: Mr. Najibullah might nominally step down, perhaps going to Moscow for "consultations" for a time, but his government would remain in charge.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB - Afghan Information Centre Monthly Bulletin  
AIG - Afghan Interim Government  
BIA - Bakhtar Information Agency  
CC - Central Committee  
CSM - Christian Science Monitor  
DYOAA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan  
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany  
GDR - German Democratic Republic  
ICRC - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross  
KT - Kabul Times  
LAT - Los Angeles Times  
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization  
NWFP - Northwest Frontier Province  
NYT - New York Times  
OIC - Organization of Islamic Conference  
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan  
PSFO - Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization  
PT - Pakistan Times  
PVO - Private Voluntary Organization  
RC - Revolutionary Council  
ROA - Republic of Afghanistan  
SCMP - South China Morning Post  
UNGA - United Nations General Assembly  
UNGOMAP- United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan  
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees  
WSJ - Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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